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THE
ORATIONS
OF
LYSIAS AND ISOCRATES,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK:

WITH
SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR LIVES;

AND
A DISCOURSE on the HISTORY, MANNERS, and
CHARACTER of the GREEKS, from the Conclusion of the
PELOPONNESIAN War, to the Battle of CHÆRONEA.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL. D.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, FLEET-STREET; AND J. BELL, EDINBURGH.

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TO THE MEMORY
OF HIS INESTIMABLE FRIEND,
The Honourable HENRY HOPE,
(WHO DIED AT LYONS, IN HIS TWENTY-SECOND YEAR,
AUG. 27, 1776;)

A YOUTH DISTINGUISHED
BY AN AMIABLE SIMPLICITY OF MANNERS,
AN UNCOMMON PROFICIENCY IN USEFUL KNOWLEDGE,
AND BY EVERY HUMANE AND GENTLE,
AS WELL AS FIRM AND MANLY VIRTUE;
THIS WORK
(OF WHICH THE IDEA WAS FIRST SUGGESTED
BY THE DESIRE TO PROMOTE HIS LITERARY IMPROVEMENT)
IS, WITH A MELANCHOLY, YET PLEASING REMEMBRANCE,

INSCRIBED,

BY

The AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E.

THE orations of Isocrates furnish us with a general account of the history and political interests of the Greeks: the pleadings of Lyfias contain a curious detail of their domestic manners and internal œconomy. The works of the two orators together, exhibit an interesting picture, not only of the foreign wars and negociations, but of the private lives and behaviour of this celebrated nation. Taken separately, their writings are imperfect; when combined, they afford a system of information equally extensive and satisfactory.

This circumstance, chiefly, hath induced me to unite them; and to present them under a new form of arrangement. Regardless of the order of time in which the several orations were published or composed, as well as of the different classes into which critics have thought proper to divide them, I have placed them in a
series

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series corresponding to the chain of Grecian history, the principal links of which they brighten and illustrate; while they delineate the whole with an accuracy, which, being unlooked for and unexpected, has generally passed unobserved. Wherever the colourings of eloquence have obscured the lines of truth, I have employed the assistance of contemporary writers to restore the latter; and have endeavoured, by the introductions to the discourses which I translate, to render the following performance a short and general, yet not incomplete description, of the public transactions, the interior government and manners of the Greeks, from the first dawnings of their tradition, to the full maturity and decline of their recorded history, in the loss of national independence at the battle of Chæronea.

The original accounts of every nation lie beyond the province of the historian, and deserve to be studied only in such works as are addressed to the imagination. When we examine, in the unwearied labours of Diodorus Siculus, and other copious compilers, the extraordinary virtues of the ancient Greeks, and the many fabulous adventures by which they displayed them, our patience is tired, our reason is shocked. But the ingenious strokes of embellished panegyric^a, written not

^a See the panegyric of Athens; and the funeral oration in praise, &c.

merely



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merely to preserve the actions of a people in the infancy of their society from oblivion, but to excite the emulation of their descendants, are, at all times, deserving of esteem. It is a matter of little moment, whether the Athenians ever felt that disinterested patriotism and generous humanity ascribed to them while governed by the wisdom of the Areopagus^b; or whether the Spartans ever possessed that manly fortitude and heroic magnanimity which the institutions of Lycurgus are said to have inspired^c; provided that lively and animated descriptions of the character and exploits of these nations, warm the heart, elevate the mind, cherish, sustain, and quicken the latent principles of virtue. This ought to be the main object of such literary compositions; and unless they produce this effect, whether the works of ancients or moderns, they merit equal disregard.

But as certain obscure corners in the history of mankind are only fit subjects for writers of fancy to adorn, so there are other periods concerning which our information cannot be too minute and circumstantial. Every people, who are allowed to run the full career of

^b See the oration of Isocrates on reforming the government of Athens.

^c See the oration entitled Archidamus.

human

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human affairs, improve by a slow and gradual progress. The examples of men who have made few advances towards civilization, can be of little avail to nations accustomed to all the elegant refinements of polished life. Yet these nations, alone, seem qualified by their leisure, their patience, and their capacity, to derive instruction from any examples whatever. It is of importance, therefore, to exhibit to their view men who resemble themselves; and the nearer the situation of these men approaches their own, the more important lessons may they derive from their history. This consideration has engaged me to examine with particular attention, what may be called the last age of Grecian freedom. The period of above sixty years, which elapsed from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, to the decisive victory at Chæronea, comprehends the greater part of the lives of Lyfias and Isocrates, whose writings contain the most authentic, as well as most abundant, source of intelligence, concerning the history of their own times. I avail myself of the lights which they afford, to explain this interesting period of Grecian story at considerable length; to place facts and characters in a different point of view, from that in which they have been hitherto considered; and to investigate and point out causes where many writers have been satisfied with barely relating effects.

When

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When the description of past ages is intended not merely for the amusement of an idle hour, but as an instructive lesson to posterity, there are two objects, it should seem, of which an author ought never to lose sight. The first is the effect of the political institutions established among the people whom he describes, on their transactions with foreign nations, in negotiation or war, as enemies, colonies, or allies. The second is the effect of the same institutions, combined with that of national measures, on the internal quiet and happiness of the state, and on the manners and characters of individuals. Unless these objects be united, our ideas of both must be imperfect. We may know names and facts, but must remain ignorant of men. The character of a Coriolanus will be placed in the same light with that of a Cæsar; an Aristomenes and a Conon described by the same strokes, or painted with the same colours; and every fierce and crafty barbarian distinguished by honours due to the accomplished statesman and warrior.

To avoid this inconvenience, and for the sake of greater perspicuity, I have divided the preliminary discourse into two parts; the first including the history of the public transactions; the second containing an account

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of the private lives and manners of the Greeks. To the whole is prefixed an introduction ; in which I have attempted to ascertain with precision the extent and populousness, as well as the power, wealth, and resources of the principal Grecian republics. In the historical part of the discourse, Isocrates has been my guide throughout. As this writer kept aloof from the political disputes which agitated his countrymen, he viewed the affairs of Athens and of all Greece through a purer medium than Demosthenes and other authors, from whom it is usual to collect the history of that age. I have on this account preferred his authority ; and have endeavoured to weigh in a just and equal balance, the merit of these celebrated republics. If my standard be more accurate than that commonly employed, it will not appear extraordinary that my estimate also should be different ; that I should perceive no just grounds for the admiration commonly bestowed on the political institutions of the Greeks ; and should regard even the battle of Chæronea, by which these fierce republicans became subject to a foreign prince, not as their misfortune, but as their deliverance.

The second branch of the preliminary discourse, comprehending the manners and character of the Greeks,

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as described by the authors whom I translate, will probably be considered as the most interesting part of this work. It is not extraordinary that a subject of such importance should be so little understood, while the writers, by whose assistance it may be explained, are so generally neglected. The historians of ancient, like many historians of modern times, are satisfied with delineating the characters of those who appear on the great theatre of public life. The prevailing manners of the rest of mankind we are left to collect as we can, from various and often very imperfect materials. In the licentious and exaggerated descriptions of one comic writer^a, many have looked for the moral picture of the Athenians. But had an author of the *Socratic* age explained the manners and character of his countrymen with a direct view to the information of posterity, we should not possess any thing more complete on this subject than may be found in the orations of Lyfias. Many of these expressly relate to *probation*; that is, an inquiry into character and conduct, to which every Athenian citizen, who stood candidate for any public office, was obliged to submit. When these matters form not the principal object of the trial, they are always intro-

^a Aristophanes.

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duced incidentally. The parties seem to place more confidence in their past life and behaviour; than in the merits of their cause; and, unawed by the presence of a court, the members of which were appointed promiscuously from the ordinary rank of citizens, they express themselves with full freedom, and exhibit their natural sentiments undisguised.

In the preliminary discourse, it has been my aim, not only to describe the Athenian manners, but to explain the circumstances which conspired to form them. With this intention, I have considered the different ranks in society, as magistrates and subjects, citizens and strangers, masters and servants; and have pointed out the duties and privileges of each particular condition. One copious article is employed in examining the treatment of women, and the manners, virtues, and vices resulting from this treatment. As the simplicity or refinement in which a people are accustomed to live; their ordinary occupations and amusements; and the state of arts, whether liberal or mechanical, have a powerful influence on national character—none of these particulars have escaped observation.

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The task of translating into English the authors whom I adduce as authorities, was the most laborious part of this undertaking; and that on which the greatest pains have been bestowed. As a translator, I have endeavoured to express the meaning, and to preserve the spirit of the original; to retain the distinctive characters of both writers, and to clothe their sentiments in a dress agreeable to the taste of modern times. But I am far from thinking that I have completely attained my aim. There were obstacles in the way which I found it impossible altogether to surmount. An ingenious French writer* observes, that "a Latin translator glides over difficulties with impunity; when he cannot resolve, he eludes them; involves his enigmas in such expressions as convey an agreeable sound without any determinate sense; and the reader ascribes the obscurity, in part at least, to his own ignorance. But whoever translates into a modern language, must speak intelligibly. Every one deems himself a sufficient judge of his labours; and it is an unalterable law, to refer all that is good or excellent to the original, and all that is bad or indifferent to the copy. Nothing can be more unfavourable than the situation

* Tourreil in the historical preface to his translation of Demosthenes.

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of such a translator. It resembles that of a dancer on the slack-rope, whose dexterity is little regarded, while the least inadvertence costs him his life." Many imperfections, I am likewise sensible, may be found in this publication, arising, not from the nature of my work, but from my own inattention or inability; little anxious, however, to excuse my errors, I am chiefly solicitous to correct them. I know not, by what fatality it has happened, that in this island we have been remarkably backward in naturalising the classical writings of Greece. In France and Italy many of these had been translated by men of the highest literary reputation, while in England they still continued to be concealed from the public, and confined to the schools. It may, perhaps, be deemed some merit in the present undertaking, that it not only places the orations of Lyfias and Isocrates in a new light, but offers the first attempt at a complete illustration of them in a modern tongue¹, and thus furnishes the English reader with

¹ I found an old French translation of the oration of Lyfias in defence of Euphiletus, in the French King's library at Paris. The same translated into Spanish I saw in a public library at Seville.—There is a book entitled 'The Translation of Isocrates, by Mr. Dimesdale.' I turned over an hundred pages of it without finding ten sentences that are intelligible.—Some moral discourses of Isocrates have been translated into English, German,

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with a translation from the Greek, which is still wanting in the literature of other nations.

man, and Italian. I had heard of the translation by Carrario, published in Italy in the middle of the 16th century; but is so scarce, that I could not meet with it either in the shops or libraries of that country. The only modern performance, from which I have received any assistance, is an anonymous book, in 2 vols. 12mo, published at Paris in 1752, entitled, "The lives of the Greek orators." The first volume contains the life of Isocrates, and a translation of four of his discourses.

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Preliminary Discourse on the History, Manners, and Character,
of the Greeks, from the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian
War to the Battle of Chæronea.

Introduction.

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government exemplified in the conduct of the Athenians—which excites the Peloponnesian war—and in the conduct of Sparta. The calamities which she inflicted on Greece. The means by which the Greeks delivered themselves from her tyranny. The Spartan expeditions into Asia. The league between Thebes, Argos, and Corinth. The Corinthian war. Agesilaus is recalled from Asia. The affairs of Lacedæmon begin to decline. The victory obtained by Conon. Athens rises from its ruins. The resentment of Sparta—which produces the peace of Antalcidas. Conditions of that peace—its effects on Greece. The behaviour of the Spartans in consequence of it. Their cruel treatment of the Mantinæans—Olynthians—Phlians—Thebans. Divisions among the Thebans. The exiled party return—restore the public freedom—are successful in the war against Sparta. The king of Persia endeavours to promote peace. His motives. The Thebans refuse to ratify the peace of Antalcidas. The circumstances which favoured the ambitious views of the Thebans. The internal state of Thebes—of Sparta. Description of the battle of Leuctra. The effects of it on Sparta—on the rest of Greece. Measures of the Athenians in consequence of it. Domestic dissensions in several states of Greece—which are favourable to the Spartans. Their expedition into Arcadia. Obligated to evacuate that territory. The Thebans march into Laconia. Bravery of Ischolas. The desolation of that country. Epaminondas rebuilds Messene. Her allies desire peace. Sparta rejects it. History of that city. Humiliation of Sparta. Athens enters into an alliance with that state. Battle of Mantinæa. The social war. The sacred war. The battle of Chæronea. The fatal tendency of the political institutions of Greece.

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A DIS-

A
D I S C O U R S E
UPON THE
HISTORY, MANNERS,
AND
CHARACTER OF THE GREEKS,
FROM THE
Conclusion of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR to the Battle
of CHÆRONEA.



A
D I S C O U R S E

UPON THE

History, Manners, and Character, of the GREEKS,
from the Conclusion of the PELOPONNESIAN
WAR to the Battle of CHÆRONEA*.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

BEFORE we examine the transactions, or contemplate the manners of the Greeks, it is of importance to form a correct idea of the extent and populousness of their territory, as well as of the power, wealth, and resources, of the more considerable and leading republics. The notions entertained of these matters, even by the learned, are extremely vague and indeterminate; while the best writers on Grecian affairs seem purposely to have neglected a subject, which is dry indeed, and uninviting in itself, but which, when distinctly explained, may render the following discourse more interesting and more instructive.

* The Peloponnesian war ended 404 years before Christ; the battle of Chæronea was fought 338 years before Christ.

Extent and
divisions of
Greece.

The country, commonly called Greece, comprehended the peninsula of Peloponnesus, and the territory extending northwards from the isthmus of Corinth to the frontiers of Macedonia. The Peloponnesus, though scarcely two hundred and twenty miles in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth, contained seven independent communities, which, according to their rank and importance in Greece, may be placed in the following order; Laconia, Argolis, Corinth, Achaia, Arcadia, Elis, and Messenia. The Grecian territories lying north of the Corinthian isthmus, were somewhat more considerable. Extending two hundred and sixty miles in length, they reached more than one hundred and fifty in breadth; and were inhabited by nine distinct republics, which may ~~be~~ be ranked as follows; Attica, Boeotia, Thessalia, Phocis, Acharnania, Doris, Ætolia, Locris, and Megara. Besides these different states, which, excepting Messenia, uniformly remained separate and free, there were several inferior communities, which sometimes acknowledged the jurisdiction of their more powerful neighbours, and emboldened on other occasions by the assistance of distant allies, ventured to shake off the yoke, and to assume national independence. Such were Thespiæ and Plataea, in Greece, properly so called; and the cities of Phlius and Pallenè, in the peninsula of Peloponnesus*. But without regard to these temporary and inconsiderable establishments, we may conceive the whole country to have been divided among sixteen republics, each of which, had their territories been equal, would have possessed a district of about thirty miles in length, and twenty in breadth.

* See the introduction to the Oration of Isocrates in defence of the Plataeans.

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Phocis was distinguished for its oracle of Delphos, Corinth for its commerce and its riches. The former, as superstition decayed, fell into contempt; and commerce was ever too precarious a resource in Greece, to bestow on the latter any lasting pre-eminence. The relative importance of other states was determined by the extent of their territory, and the number of their inhabitants. In both respects, Attica, Laconia, Bœotia, and Argolis, were universally held to be the most powerful^b. Theffaly might have aspired to equal honours; but, situated at the extremity of Greece, it long remained barbarous and uncultivated.

The greatest extent of Attica from east to west is sixty miles, and its breadth from north to south scarcely exceeds fifty. Plato^c and Demosthenes^d make the Athenian citizens of full age, who were reckoned the fourth part of the whole inhabitants, amount to twenty thousand. Plutarch assigns a smaller number^e; and Athenæus a greater^f. This writer mentions a survey taken by Demetrius Phalerius, which made the citizens amount to twenty-one thousand, the strangers to ten thousand, and the slaves to four hundred thousand. If Athenæus, in all these numbers alike, computes the persons of full age only, we must multiply them by four, which gives seventeen hundred and twenty-four thousand, for the whole inhabitants of Attica. This prodigious collection of people, however, could not possibly have been maintained by the produce of a narrow territory, naturally unfertile^g. Nor do the annual importations from abroad^h, bear any proportion to what would have

Extent of
Attica.

Its populous-
ness accord-
ing to ancient
authors.

^b Isoc. ad Philip.

^c In Critia.

^d In Aristog.

^e In Pericle.

^f Lib. vi.

^g Demosth. in Leptin.

^h Plut. in Pericle.

been

been necessary for their subsistence. Besides, the number of slaves would have exceeded that of freemen in Attica, more than they did in any other part of Greece; which is contrary to the universal testimony of ancient writers. The ingenious Mr. Hume^b, endeavours to remove the difficulty, by supposing, that Athenæus had added, through mistake, a cypher to the last number, and thus reduces the slaves from four hundred thousand, to forty thousand. But the Greek writer could not have committed any such error, having uniformly employed words, and not letters, in the above computation. And were Mr. Hume's supposition to be admitted, the Athenian slaves would have exceeded the rest of the inhabitants, citizens and strangers, only by one-fourth; a proportion quite different from what took place in the other states of Greece, particularly in Sparta, where the slaves were near seven times as numerous as the freemen^c.

Athenæus explained.

The passage of Athenæus, however, may be naturally enough explained, if we consider that in assigning the number of *citizens*, he mentions, agreeably to the tenor of Greek writers, the men of full age only, because these alone were employed in war or in political affairs. He computes the *strangers* by the same rule, because those of full age^d only paid an annual tax to the Athenian republic. But there is no reason why he should have observed a similar method in calculating the *slaves*. These were a miserable undistinguished crowd; they were considered only by the profit which they brought; the young might frequently be more valuable than the aged; and the Athenians were extremely attentive to keep an exact register of what composed the most valuable branch

^b Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations.

^c Herodot. Book viii.

^d Lyfias in Philon. Demosth. in Aristogit.

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of their property¹. If this explication be thought reasonable, the slaves of different ages and sexes amounted to four hundred thousand, while the freemen did not exceed one hundred and twenty-four thousand. In the same sense may we understand the computations which Athenæus gives of the slaves in other cities of Greece. Thus we shall reconcile that author with the authorities which he cites; and the proportion between slaves and freemen in most of the Grecian states will correspond with that which still takes place in those parts of the world, where all ordinary labour is performed by men reduced to this wretched condition.

Laconia was more extensive than Attica; its soil more fertile; and its inhabitants, in ancient times, more numerous. It extended in its greatest length above an hundred miles, and not less than fifty in its greatest breadth. The freemen of full age amounted, in the time of Lycurgus^m, to thirty-nine thousand. Of these nine thousand only inhabited the capital; they were distinguished by the name of Spartans, and entrusted with the ordinary administration of governmentⁿ. The thirty thousand Lacedæmonians were summoned to attend the public assembly, when it was necessary to deliberate on war^o; and they seem to have been consulted on this occasion, not so much for the sake of their advice, as to make them engage more heartily in those expeditions, which the Spartan council had previously determined to undertake. From various causes, which shall be afterwards explained, the number of Spartan families greatly declined; that of the Lacedæmonians continued almost stationary; while the slaves augmented to such a pitch, as ren-

Extent and
populousness
of Laconia.

¹ Lyfias in Eratosth. Demosth. contra Aphob.

^m Plut. in Lycurg.

ⁿ Xenophon Hellen. Lib. iii.

^o Ibid. Lib. v.

dered

dered them more formidable to their masters at Sparta, than they were in any other city of Greece^a.

Of Bœotia.

Bœotia reached about seventy miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth. Diodorus Siculus^a assigns twenty-four thousand as the number of Theban citizens. They exceeded the Athenians, therefore, by three thousand; but Athens contained a far greater proportion of strangers, than were to be found in any neighbouring republic.

Of Argolis
and Megara.

Argolis was less extensive than Bœotia, being seventy miles in length, and only fifty in its greatest breadth. The inhabitants of that territory were not more numerous, as we are told by Lyfias, than those of Attica. From the same passage, we learn, that the Megarians scarcely amounted to three thousand; and Megara may serve as an example of the least populous communities in Greece^r.

The wealth and resources of the Grecian republics in general, have been considered with little attention, by those who have described at great length their wars and negotiations. Even the general valuation of Athenian property, concerning which we have the best means of information, is still involved in deep obscurity. The same passages of ancient authors, have given rise to two different opinions, extremely inconsistent with each other, and both, I think, very distant from truth.

The wealth of
Attica.

The Athenians, having determined to assist the Thebans, in the famous war which the latter carried on against Lacedæmon, agreed to fit out an hundred ships, and to send ten thousand men into the field. Before they proceeded to vote the supplies necessary for preparing this powerful armament, they made a

^a Ifec. Panath.

^a Lib. xvii.

^r See p. 320.

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general estimate, as Polybius informs us, *of the value of their lands, the whole territory of Attica, their houses, and other property*; and the computation fell short of six thousand talents, or 1,162,500 l. Demosthenes¹, in an oration upon a similar subject, makes the *value of the land of Attica*² amount to nearly the same sum. Meursius³ supposes the words of Polybius to mean the annual revenue arising from the land; in which opinion, he is followed by Dr. Leland, in his elegant translation of the above-mentioned oration of Demosthenes. But not to mention, that this explanation is entirely inconsistent with the words of the original, the revenue of Attica, a country scarcely more considerable than an English county, would be found, upon the system of Meursius and Dr. Leland, to exceed the annual contributions of several European kingdoms. In ancient Greece, gold and silver bore a much higher proportion to other commodities than they do at present; the same quantity of the precious metals would, in that country, have purchased near ten times as much of the necessaries of life, or commanded near ten times as much labour, as an equal sum could purchase or command in most countries of modern Europe; and we have the authority of Thucydides⁴ and Aristophanes⁵, that the whole revenue of Athens, whether arising from her own territories, or from those of her allies, colonies, and tributary states, never came up to a third part of the value at which it has been erroneously estimated.

The second account, which is the only different one that is given of the valuation of the wealth of Attica, is that which explains the above-mentioned passages of Demosthenes and

¹ Book II. chap. lxi.

² De fortuna Athen.

³ De Claffibus.

⁴ Lib. ii.

⁵ Το τιμημα της χωρας.

⁶ Vesp.

b

Polybius,

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Polybius, as if they inferred, that the whole Athenian property, public or private, land or moveables, amounted to no more than six thousand talents ^a. This opinion, doubtless, is far less extravagant than the former; but there are several stubborn facts which will not allow me to embrace it. Thucydides tells us ^b, that, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians had six thousand talents in the citadel. They continued, during many years, to raise six hundred talents annually, from their Asiatic colonies. The sum levied from all their tributary states sometimes amounted to thirteen hundred talents ^c. When any of these states happened to revolt, the Athenians punished them with the utmost severity. The authors of the insurrection were put to death; their property was confiscated; and a heavy fine imposed on the whole community. In the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war, the territory of the isle of Lesbos was, on an occasion of this kind, divided among the Athenian citizens ^d. Pericles, a few years before the commencement of the same war, endeavoured to humble the rebellious spirit of the Samians, by fining them eighty talents. Their mutinous humours broke out more violently than before, and they were condemned to pay two hundred talents ^e. By such extraordinary exactions, as well as by hoarding their ordinary revenue with a view to provide against the exigencies of a war, the Athenians had at one time ten thousand talents in their treasury ^f; a sum nearly equal to two millions sterling; and exceeding by near eight hundred thousand pounds, what Mr. Hume and other writers suppose to have been the whole *census* of the Athenian republic.

^a Hume's Populousness of Ancient Nations.

^b Lib. ii.

^c Plut. in Aristid.

^d Thucyd. lib. iii.

^e Diod. sic lib. xii.

^f See p. 165.

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It may be observed, indeed, that the facts which I have stated chiefly relate to the situation of the Athenians before the Peloponnesian war, which tended greatly to exhaust the wealth and resources of that ambitious people. I admit the propriety of this remark, and readily allow, that such was the continual fluctuation of property in Greece, that the whole *census* of a state at one time might be scarcely equivalent to its revenue a few years before. But this, I assert, will not remove the difficulty; as may appear from a circumstance above mentioned, relative to the Athenians, long after the conclusion of the unfortunate war of Peloponnesus. Let us suppose, that, according to the enumeration of Demetrius Phalerius, the Athenian slaves of full age exceeded not forty thousand, the number contended for by Mr. Hume. It is known that two *minæ* purchased only a second-rate slave. Such as had health, strength, and ingenuity, cost a good deal more^a. But considering two *minæ*, which is the thirtieth part of a talent, as the general price, forty thousand slaves would be nearly worth one thousand three hundred and thirty-three talents. The slaves of full age made the fourth part of the whole, and we shall allow the remaining three-fourths to be only worth an equal sum. The value of the whole slaves at Athens will amount to two thousand six hundred and sixty-six talents. This, I say, takes place, even upon Mr. Hume's supposition. But when we consider that the Athenian slaves were at least twice as numerous as he imagines, we shall find that *their value alone* is almost equal to what has been reckoned the whole Athenian *census*. When we take into account, therefore, the houses and lands of the Athenians, their temples, statues, the gold and silver with which they were adorned^b, the silver

^a Demosth. contra Aphob.

^b Thucyd. Book II.

Polybius explained.

mines¹, the money in circulation, and the still greater quantity deposited in the treasury, or concealed in private coffers², as well as the precious marbles and other valuable commodities, with which Athens abounded³, the whole *census* of that republic must have greatly exceeded the sum at which it has been estimated. How, then, shall we explain the passages of Demosthenes and Polybius above cited?—The Athenians divided property into *ορατα φανερα* and *ορατα αφανη*⁴; literally, visible and invisible property; the former comprehending houses, lands, and other immoveable possessions; the latter, money, slaves, and all kinds of moveables. It seems evident to me, that Polybius meant immoveable possessions only. He says, that the Athenians valued their houses, lands, *ομοιως δε και την λοιπην οσιαν*, and likewise the rest of their *immoveable* property. The words of Demosthenes seem to confirm this opinion. After mentioning the value of the lands of Attica (which has been taken for the general valuation of the state), he comes to speak of money. “This,” says he, “the rich were so unwilling to contribute, that they would not even acknowledge the possession of it. They denied, they concealed, their riches.” How is it possible, then, that he should have taken into account this concealed and *invisible* property, in computing the national wealth? I am persuaded, therefore, we shall form a very moderate estimate of the Athenian *census*, by supposing it equivalent, even in the least flourishing times, to twelve thousand talents, or 2,325,000 l.

Wealth of the other states of Greece.

The wealth of the other states was far inferior to that of Athens. None of them, except Corinth, cultivated manu-

¹ Xenoph. de ration. reddit.

² Xenoph. de Repub. Athen.

³ Demosth. Wolf. p. 75.

⁴ Demosth. de Classibus. Lyfias contra Eratosth.

⁵ Lyfias contra Diogeit.

factures

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factures and commerce; and if we exclude slaves, they possessed little moveable property. Their riches principally consisted in the produce of their soil, and, in this respect, Laconia was the most considerable. This territory was divided by Lycurgus², into thirty-nine thousand shares, each of which, at a medium, produced eighty-two medimni of barley. Computing these medimni by Dr. Arbuthnot's tables, the whole is equal to 430,404 quarters. But this is only the grain; and Laconia produced fruit, wine, and oil; so that the whole produce of that country might not, perhaps, fall short of that of the richest English counties; but if valued in money, would not probably have amounted to above a tenth part of the sum at which the produce of such a county might now be sold. It is commonly said, that the Lacedæmonians made use of iron money only; and this observation is true when confined to the earlier periods of their republic. But it is an error, to consider this circumstance as a peculiarity in their institutions. Like many of the laws ascribed to Lycurgus, it had taken place before his time. The scarcity of iron in ancient times, is well known³. It was not, therefore, so incommodious a medium of exchange as is generally imagined. We learn from Aristophanes⁴, that the inhabitants of Byzantium long continued to make use of it for this purpose, as well as those of Sparta. And the Lacedæmonian lawgiver seems not in this, any more than in various other instances, to have introduced a new practice, but only to have given sanction to that which the circumstances of society had previously established.

I have had occasion more than once, to allude to the relative value of the precious metals in ancient and modern times. It

Relative value
of precious
metals in an-
cient and
modern times.

² Plut. in Lycurg.

³ Homer, *passim*.

⁴ Aristoph. *Nebul.*

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is impossible to ascertain, with precision, a proportion which is always changing; but a few particulars may enable the reader to form such a general idea, as will tend to satisfy his mind, in estimating the riches and strength of the Grecian republics. We are told by Lyfias[†], that the treasury allowed a poor man an obolus, or penny, a-day, as sufficient to provide for his subsistence. In another passage, the same author estimates the maintenance of five persons during a year, at 25 l.^{*} When pay was introduced by Pericles, among the Athenians troops, foldiers were allowed two-pence a day, and afterwards three pence and four-pence. But the Athenian armies were composed of the most respectable part of the citizens, and their pay was much higher than at present, in proportion to the wages of tradesmen and mechanics. That of a captain was no more than double the pay of a private soldier; and a general only received four times as much[‡]. The cavalry consisted of the wealthier part of the citizens; yet a horseman was allowed only sixpence a day for the maintenance of himself and his horse[§]. In the time of Socrates, an ox cost eight shillings; a hog, half-a-crown; and a day-labourer earned, besides his maintenance, a penny a day[¶]. On the whole, therefore, if we admit that money, compared with labour, or with the necessaries of life, was ten times more valuable in ancient Greece, than it is in modern Europe, we shall not, perhaps, assign a proportion far remote from truth.

These observations may diminish, but cannot remove, the surprise of such as attentively consider the extraordinary efforts of the Greeks, in their foreign and domestic wars. That the

[†] Life of Lyfias.

^{*} Against Diogeiton.

[‡] Xenoph. Anabas.

[§] Lyfias against Alcibiades.

[¶] Xenoph. Econom.

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inhabitants of so narrow a territory, neither fertile nor populous, should have been able, with such limited resources, to put in motion the fleets and armies described by ancient writers, must appear extremely unaccountable; nor can it otherwise be explained, than by attending to the singular institutions which prevailed in these martial republics.

In considering the nature and tendency of any government, the principal questions to be resolved are, how far it protects the natural rights of individuals, and what services it requires them to perform, in return for this protection. Both questions are easily answered with regard to the states of Greece: They required every thing, and performed nothing. Such a political arrangement rendered their military enterprises more splendid; and this, if it may be considered as a good effect, was the only advantage with which their system of government could be attended. The magistrates possessed an absolute command over the services and property of the subjects; and could, on any occasion, call forth their most vigorous exertions. The institutions established for this purpose at Athens, seem, with little variation, to have prevailed over all Greece. In that famous republic, the youth of every condition were obliged, at the age of eighteen, to enlist in the service of the community, and from their eighteenth to their twentieth year, were commonly employed in guarding the forts in Attica. Having performed this duty, during the time prescribed by law, they appeared in the temple of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops, and took an oath to prove themselves worthy of the sacred armour which was there deposited. They came under engagements to follow wherever their leader should conduct them; to use every effort to promote the prosperity of the republic; to oppose with
their

The institutions which favoured the military efforts of the Greeks.

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their utmost vigour those who attempted to alter any of the laws in force without the unanimous consent of the people ; to sail to every part of the world in order to take possession of the lands assigned them ; and to keep up, in all the territories belonging to Attica, the culture of grass and corn, and the plantations of vines and olives. This oath, ratified by many solemn ceremonies, they were obliged to maintain inviolate, until they had reached their fortieth year. No circumstance (except the duty of performing certain civil offices at home) excused them from observing it. Men were torn from their families and their professions ; and though possessed of competent fortunes, obliged, by the summons of a general, to take their station in the ranks¹.

The authority exercised over rich and poor, was equally unlimited. But the condition of the former was particularly disagreeable, because their estates, as well as their personal services, might be demanded ; and without danger of inevitable ruin to their owners, could not be withheld. They not only furnished the whole expence of the navy, but paid such extraordinary contributions as any sudden emergency required. In all the following orations, there is scarcely one example of a rich man venturing to appear at the bar of the public, without being able to prove, that he has expended the best share of his fortune in the service of the community. But this was a matter of necessity, and not of choice² ; for the Athenians were tyrants in one capacity, and slaves in another ; and that impervious line which may be drawn between power and liberty, was a secret undiscovered in Greece, and is still concealed from every country but our own.

¹ Lyfias against Diogeiton.

² Lyfias throughout.

These institutions, disagreeable as they were to individuals who loudly complained of their injustice^a, yet enabled the republic to exert itself with vigour against its foreign and domestic enemies. The exorbitant and uncontrolled jurisdiction, assumed by the Grecian states over their colonies and allies, tended still farther to promote the same end. The enormous exactions of the Athenians from their tributary isles, as well as the heavy taxes which they imposed on their Asiatic colonies, have been already described. Sparta exercised, in this respect, an authority equally unlimited. In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, that republic demanded from her colonies in Italy and Sicily^b, five hundred ships, and large contributions in money; and during the course of the same war, she made many similar applications^c, which were seldom ineffectual.

But it is not from particular acts of extreme rigour and severity, that we can judge of the intolerable servitude of the countries which had the misfortune to become subject to these ambitious republics. While human nature continues the same, the right to exercise power must always be attended with a strong inclination to abuse it. Unless this dangerous right, therefore, be balanced by the invaluable title of defending liberty; unless the line of separation between these two be boldly marked, and accurately defined; unless the interests of that part of the constitution which tends to corruption, be invariably opposite to those of the generous portion which sustains its political life; it is of little consequence, whether a country be governed by one tyrant or a thousand: In both cases alike, the condition of man is precarious, and force prevails over law. It shall be proved, that the institutions of these ancient republics,

^a *Iloc. in Areop. & passim.*

^b *Thucyd. Lib. ii.*

^c *Idem, Lib. viii.*

as well as the manners resulting from them, both of which have been injudiciously extolled by many learned men, approach nearer to oriental despotism and the manners resulting from it, than can well be imagined. The only difference of condition, between the citizens of the one and the subjects of the other, is that a greater number of the former might expect at some future time to inflict the same calamities which they had previously suffered. But between the foreign dependencies of republican and despotic states, there is no distinction whatever. The most rapacious Turkish governor, armed with all the tremendous power of his master, acts not with more cruelty and injustice, than the officers of the Athenian republic, under the sanction of popular decrees. "The people of Athens," says Xenophon*, desire to acquire at once all the wealth of their tributary states, and can hardly be persuaded to allow their subjects to retain what is barely sufficient for their subsistence. They permit not their allies to have tribunals for deciding causes between one man and another, but oblige them to have recourse to Athens for their determination. Hence they govern them without any trouble to themselves, and ruin, in the courts of justice, every one who appears to bear ill-will to the Athenian people. Besides this advantage," continues he, "the particular citizens who happen to be judges, get a considerable increase of fees; because these are in proportion to the number of causes which they decide. They profit also, by letting their houses and servants, to such strangers as are obliged to resort to Athens for obtaining justice. The state itself is a gainer by an augmentation of the tax, called the *hundredth*, which is paid at the Pireum. And all the citizens in general, obtain much honour and respect; for, if the

With regard
to their allies.

* De Repub. Athen.

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allies were not obliged to plead their causes at Athens, they would pay regard to our generals, ambassadors, sea-captains, and them only. But at present, they obey, honour, and respect every Athenian citizen; they even kiss his hand, as a mark of submission due to the man who may at some future time be their judge."

The last circumstance which I shall mention, and which had no small tendency to invigorate and prolong the military efforts of the Greeks, was the mode of carrying on war in that age. These fierce republicans were strangers to the generous maxims of humanity, which, in modern times, have disarmed that destructive art of half its terrors. They knew not to spare either the liberties or the lives of an enemy, even when imploring their mercy. Property, whether public or private, belonged, of right, to the victors; while the vanquished were put to the sword, or reduced into servitude. As these barbarous customs called forth the utmost vigour of the one party, to repel the calamities which threatened them; so they animated the conduct of the other, by rousing the keenest passions of the heart. War was carried on with an animosity, of which, men endowed with any degree of sensibility can hardly form an idea; and its consequences were not more destructive to the conquered, than advantageous to the conquerors. Nations, in the present age, may exhaust their wealth and resources, even by successful expeditions. But the sword was considered^f, and was employed in Greece, as the principal means of acquiring riches. During the pride of their prosperity, republics amassed treasure by plundering their neighbours. They, too, were plundered in their turn by some more successful rival, or by a combination of adverse

The mode of
carrying on
war in that
age.

^f Aristot. Polit. Book i.

states. Thus there was kept up a perpetual circulation of property, as well as of power. In the repeated shocks of hostility, individuals were beggared, ruined, or enslaved; an unfortunate community was sometimes extirpated: But the leading powers obtained distinction by the distress of their inferiors; and the glory and renown of particular republics were purchased by general misery and desolation^z.

^z See the Oration of Isocrates on the Peace, throughout.

A
DISCOURSE
UPON THE
HISTORY, &c. OF THE GREEKS,
FROM THE
Conclusion of the PELOPONNESIAN War to the Battle
of CHÆRONEA.

PART I.

The History of the Greeks.

GREECE was originally governed by kings, whose office was hereditary, but whose authority was limited. The increase of their wealth^a enabled them to extend their power. They began to arrogate to themselves all the rights of the state, as well as to assume all the functions of government. Their subjects were reduced into a condition bordering on servitude, and insulted by such repeated indignities, that they determined to abolish the royal authority, which had degenerated into a system of oppression.

Ancient government of Greece.

^a Montesquieu (p. 281. Edit. of Amsterdam, 1764.) observes, that monarchy was abolished in Greece, because the kings there possessed no share in the legislative power. "Hence, says he, they could not defend themselves against the encroachments of the people." But this observation is inconsistent with what we learn from Thucydides and Aristotle, who inform us, that the Greeks did not expel their kings^{*}, till these had become absolute.

^{*} Thucydides in Proem. Aristot. Polit. passim.

Aristocracies

The revolutions of government in that country.

Different forms established in different states.

Principles in which they all agreed.

Aristocracies were at first established on the ruins of regal power. But as the people acquired wealth, they began to aspire at independence. In the more commercial cities of Greece^c, they soon obtained a share, and afterwards the whole administration of government; and that country came to be divided into a number of independent communities, some of which were as remarkable for democratical licentiousness^d, as others for aristocratical rigour. Athens and Sparta were the two extremes, and the less considerable states fluctuated, as it were, between them. Athens was regarded as the protector of those communities which were governed by popular assemblies, composed of all the citizens; and wherever the power of a senate prevailed, Sparta was equally respected^e.

But, notwithstanding the peculiarities which distinguished one republic from another, the Greeks had embraced, or at least had pretended to embrace^f, certain principles of government which were common to the whole nation. They all affected a detestation of the name of king, professed an enthusiastic love of liberty; and, united as they were by a common language and a common religion, they had entered into a general confederacy for maintaining their national independence. Such was their political situation; and the singular effects of it, in giving activity and force to those powers of the mind which are employed in the cultivation of arts, and the advancement of science, render their history more curious, and more interesting, than that of any other people.

^c Xenophon & Arist. de Repub. Athen.

^d Isoc. Panegy. See also his Discourse on reforming the Government of Athens.

^e Isoc. Panegy.

^f See the Oration of Lyfias, in defence of a Citizen accused of subverting the Democracy.

HISTORY OF THE GREEKS.

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It is a question of the greatest importance, whether those political arrangements which were so favourable to the efforts of genius, and to the virtue or abilities of individuals, were equally advantageous to the happiness of the nation at large, and to the general improvement of society. Such an inquiry, if conducted with impartiality, and attended with a due knowledge of the subject, will afford the best means of estimating the real value or merit of those systems or establishments, according to which, not only the legislative, but executive power of government, is entrusted with assemblies or senates. I shall examine in what manner this distribution of power regulated the public transactions of the Greeks, as enemies, colonies, or allies; and in what manner it affected their domestic manners, and internal tranquillity. It will result from the whole inquiry, that there is a principle of degeneracy in republics, which all the power of education, and the utmost abilities and virtue of particular persons, are unable to correct; and that, although in the agitations and tumult attending the administration of popular government, eminent talents may sometimes have an opportunity of displaying themselves with peculiar lustre, the condition of mankind in general is there the most calamitous and afflicted.

The usefulness of attending to the effects of these principles.

Tendency of popular government.

The period of history which I have chosen for confirming the truth of these observations, comprehends the greater part of the lives of Lyfias and Isocrates. The former began to flourish at Athens, soon after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, and the latter hardly survived the battle of Chæronea. The writings of both throw much light on the transactions of their own times; and, by availing myself of the assistance which they afford, I shall be enabled to place several facts and characters

in a clearer point of view than that in which they have been hitherto represented.

But were I to select any other period of the Grecian story, the events which it contains, though less connected with the design of the present work, would lead to the same political conclusions. For wherever an enraged populace, or haughty senators, assume the administration of affairs, declare war, levy contributions, and perform all the particular functions of sovereignty, public measures will be concerted without prudence, carried on without skill, and executed with equal violence and injustice. The only circumstance which can inspire a temporary moderation into men corrupted by power, is a sense of general danger. The Greeks, while the Persian invasion threatened them, not only acted with valour, but deliberated with wisdom. Yet no sooner had they repelled their foreign enemies^a, and taken complete vengeance on them for their wrongs, than they set themselves to oppress and insult one another. The Athenians, who, by the merit of their services in the Persian wars^b, had obtained a pre-eminence over the rest of the confederacy, began to employ it for the worst of purposes, and acted no longer as allies but as tyrants. Governed by the violent principles natural to popular assemblies, which possess the executive power of government, they passed a barbarous decree against Megara, ravaged Corinth, enslaved Ægina, and imposed on their Asiatic colonies alone^c, a tribute of six hundred talents, which was nearly equal to a third part of the whole revenue of the state^d.

Exemplified
in the conduct
of the Athe-
nians;

which excites
the Pelopon-
nesian war;

The Greeks, equally provoked by their arrogance and rapacity, determined to throw off a yoke which had become oppressive

^a Isocrat. Discourse on the Peace.

^c Thucydides, Lib. i.

^b Isocrat. Panegyric.

^d See Introduction, p. x.

and

and intolerable. The Spartans stood forth to defend the cause of the injured, and to maintain the general independence; yet the fortune of the Peloponnesian war had no sooner placed them at the head of Greece¹, than they pursued the same tyrannical measures which they had so lately taken arms to oppose; and Sparta, who had declared herself the defender of Greece, became its oppressor. This conduct was the natural result of her political institutions. When neighbouring princes go to war, it is commonly with a view to acquire some small accession of territory, or to provide against some remote inconvenience, to which their own dominions may be exposed. But republics and aristocracies have other objects in view. They are not more interested in preserving their possessions, than in securing^m the permanence of their government, which is always in danger of being subverted. Each particular citizen, possessing a share in the executive power, feels his immediate interest in the national contests; and the full gratification of his own ambition and rapacity, is the only boundary which he is disposed to assign for their duration. War is carried on with a barbarous rage; the parties determine to reduce each other to despair; nor do hostilities cease, until the vanquished have suffered every calamity which human resentment can inflict.

Before Christ,
431.

Acting upon principles of this kind, the Spartans were not satisfied with the most signal advantages obtained over their opponents, until they had provided for the security of their own system of government by imposingⁿ it on their neighbours, and by compelling them to mould their political constitutions

and in the
conduct of
Sparta.

¹ See Introduct. to Orations against Agorat. and Eratosth.

^m Lyf. Funer. Orat.

ⁿ Isocrates on the peace.

d

after

B. C. 404.

The calamities which she inflicted on Greece.

after the model of that rigid aristocracy, of which they were declared patrons *. A resolution formed on prejudice, was executed by violence. The free governments were every where dissolved; tyrants, under the direction of Lacedæmon, insulted their fellow-citizens; the citadels were guarded by mercenaries; and every species of cruelty and injustice was exercised with a licentious presumption, that could be equalled only by the patient timidity with which it was endured †. Contemporary writers, who beheld the humiliation and distress of their country, seem at a loss for words to describe them. Isocrates dwells upon this subject in his panegyric; but all the copiousness and energy of the Greek language appears unequal, even under the management of so great a master, to paint the afflictions of Greece; and the mind of the orator seems to labour with a thought which he is unable to express.

The means by which the Greeks delivered themselves from her tyranny.

B. C. 402.

Provoked at length by the repeated indignities which the instruments of Sparta heaped upon them, the Athenians first began to mutiny. Thrasybulus collected the exiles ‡, who disdaining to submit to the Spartan yoke had fled from Athens, and seconded the resentment of his countrymen. Some leading men †, in Sparta itself, who were more influenced by motives of private friendship, than by views of national ambition, favoured the execution of their designs. The Athenians re-establish the democracy, and expel their tyrants. But the wounds which the state had received from these cruel masters, were not easily healed. They had put to death more citizens § in eight months, than had fallen in eight years of the Peloponnesian war.

* Isocrates Panegyric.

† Lyfias Funer. Orat.

‡ Isoc. Panathen. Xenophon. Hellen.

§ Lyfias against Eratosthenes.

¶ See Introduction to the Orations against Eratosth.

The animosities occasioned by the resentments between those who had either abetted or opposed their tyranny, rankled in the minds of the Athenians. These, contending with one another about their form of government, took no measures for delivering the rest of Greece from oppression; and that system of tyranny, which the Lacedæmonians had established, odious as it was, the Greeks would have found it difficult to overturn, had not the errors of Sparta favoured their deliverance.

B. C. 402.

Intoxicated with her good fortune, that little state despised the sovereignty of Greece, as an object unworthy of her ambition. The advantages which she had obtained over her own allies, inspired her with ideas of universal conquest; she poured her victorious forces into Asia, desolated the coast, ravaged the inland country, and struck such terror into the Persian governors, that they were obliged to have recourse to the meanest arts that fear can suggest, in order to elude that danger which they had not courage to repel. Judging of other men's principles by their own, they first offered a bribe to Agesilaus their conqueror, who rejected it with scorn. They afterwards dispatched Timocrates*, a Rhodian, with fifty talents, into Greece, which he was instructed to distribute in such a manner among the leading men in the more considerable states, as might engage them in the interests of Persia. This measure was attended with success. The citizens of Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, whom the love of liberty could not inspire with resolution to take up arms, are persuaded to embrace this measure by avarice. The Corinthians are not at sufficient pains to conceal their designs; the friends of Sparta are alarmed, and Corinth is torn by seditions^y. Thebes

B. C. 396.
The Spartan
expeditions
into Asia.The league
between
Thebes, Ar-
gos, and Co-
rinth.

* Lyfias against dissolving the ancient government.

* Xenophon. Leunch. p. 502.

^y See Introd. to the Fun. Orat. by Lyfias.

and Argos behaved on this occasion with more prudence. They discovered not their intention to attack the Lacedæmonian territories, which would have exposed them to suffer not only the severest punishment from that state, but the indignation and resentment of the Spartan partizans at home, who, on account both of their numbers and character, were then formidable in every country of Greece. Such, however, was the situation of all these republics, that any of them might be drawn into a war, without seeming to intend it. A number of particular associations had weakened the general confederacy; and Greece might be put in motion by the smallest springs. These alone were employed. The Locrians are persuaded to levy contributions upon a small district, the property of which was claimed both by the Phocians and the Thebans. The former revenge the injury by invading the territory of the Locrians, who apply in their present distress to Thebes their ally. Assistance is decreed them; and the Phocians, unable to contend against the united power of the two states, have recourse in their turn to Sparta. Thus the ferment is excited; all parties prepare for hostilities; and what has been called the Corinthian war, because the first symptom of animosity appeared amidst the jarring factions of that state, begins and becomes general.

The Corinthian war.
B. C. 395.

The first action deprived the Lacedæmonians of their leader Lyfander*, who had long acted a principal part in carrying on the ambitious designs of his country. The fatal consequences they dreaded from the loss of this battle, which was fought at Haliartus, as well as the death of their general, obliged them to recal Agefilaus from pursuing his conquests in Asia. He, though already master of a great part of the coast,

Agefilaus recalled from Asia.

* Plutarch in Lyfandro.

and

and though eager^d to second his good fortune by penetrating into the heart of Persia^e, yet obeyed, without hesitation, the summons of his republic, and returned to fight the battles where her danger called him. He left only four thousand men behind him, to maintain possession of the territory which he had acquired; and he transmitted the command of the fleet to his brother-in-law, Pisander.

But from this moment the affairs of Lacedæmon began to decline. The Athenians, who as yet had taken no part in the war against that state, were engaged, as usual, in domestic dissensions. After the fatal sea-fight in the river Ægos, Conon, their unfortunate commander, had retired to the isle of Cyprus, where, by the philosophical intercourse of a virtuous king^f, he soothed the rigours of his fate, and watched an opportunity of recovering his lost honour, and retrieving the ruined affairs of his country. The happy moment was now arrived, and a favourable occasion seemed to solicit his activity. Having obtained the command of a small fleet from Evagoras, he sailed to the coast of Asia, and from thence repaired to the court of Artaxerxes, who was still agitated by the terrors into which the Lacedæmonian victories had thrown him. Conon represented to the trembling monarch, the dangerous ambition of that haughty people; and insisted, that if he regarded the security of his dominions or the honour of his crown, he ought now, by his utmost efforts, to humble for ever the Spartan pride.

The affairs of
Lacedæmon
begin to de-
cline.

Feeble and irresolute as the measures of the Persians generally were, the ardour of Conon for once inspired them with vigour. An hundred ships are collected and put under his command.

The victory
obtained by
Conon.

^d Plut. in Agefilao.

^e Diod. Sicul. l. xiv.

^f Isoc. in Evagor.

With

With these he sets sail in search of the Grecian fleet; falls in with them near Cnidos, a town of Caria in Asia Minor, and though his ships were less numerous than those of the enemy, obtains a complete victory^s in the engagement. Pisander, the Spartan admiral, is slain, fighting desperately in defence of the Grecian honour, which had never before been put to so severe a trial. The Persians carry off fifty galleys, and five hundred prisoners.

Athens rises
from her
ruins.

This success, which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of Artaxerxes, induced him not only to continue Conon in the command of the fleet, but to bestow on him fifty talents to rebuild the walls and harbour of Athens. Animated by the prospect of restoring the former greatness of his country, the Athenian acted as if that great design had been already accomplished. He compelled several of the states, dignified with the name of allies, but in reality subjects of Lacedæmon, to renounce her protection; engaged the Cyclades to acknowledge their ancient patron; reduced Cythæra; and, ravaging the coast of Laconia, returned home amidst the joyous acclamations of his fellow-citizens. He afterwards persuaded his countrymen to accede to the alliance concluded between Thebes, Corinth, and Argos; rebuilt the walls and Pireum; and Athens once more recovered her ancient splendour.

The resent-
ment of
Sparta;

No spectacle could give more cruel uneasiness to Sparta. The antipathy between these rival states was of a nature so virulent and deep-rooted, that, compared with it, all other examples of national animosity seem slight and inconsiderable. Nothing but this permanent hate could have engaged Sparta to pursue the measures which she now thought proper to adopt. Determined

^s Ifoc. & Diodor. Ibid.

to check the growing prosperity of her rival, she betrayed the honour of the whole Grecian confederacy. Her magistrates were sensible, that, while involved in a war with the Persians, they could not chastise, what they affected to call, the revolt of the Greeks. They could hope to subject the one nation, only by keeping on good terms with the other. As both wars, therefore, could not be successfully carried on at the same time, they resolved to conclude a peace with Persia, that they might henceforth pursue, uncontrolled, their ambitious career in Greece. For this purpose they dispatched into Asia as their ambassador, Antalcidas, a man destitute of honour, subtle, complying, master in all the arts of insinuation and address, and every way well qualified for executing a treacherous commission at the corrupt court of an absolute prince. This man was instructed not only to negotiate a peace between Persia and Lacedæmon; but, in order to conceal from the allies the real designs of the latter, to cause a general pacification between all the Grecian states to be guaranteed by the Persian monarch. The great king, as the Greeks usually called him, was, according to this plan, admitted to the high rank to which he had always aspired, and acknowledged to be the arbiter of Greece. He found no difficulty, therefore, in sacrificing the interests of the alliance, which he had been at such pains to form against Lacedæmon, to what he regarded as his own interest and honour. To him all the Greeks were equally odious; he favoured one party only for the destruction of the other; his own advantage was the sole object which he had in view in all his transactions with them^s; and though the allies had so eminently promoted it, that he owed to them the safety of his crown, yet, when his affairs no longer required

which produces the peace of Antalcidas.

^s Isoc. Panegy. passim.

their

B.C. 387.

Conditions of
that peace.

their assistance, he abandoned them without reluctance. A mandateⁿ was issued from the Persian court, intimating the sovereign's will that a general peace should be concluded in Greece on the following terms: That the Greek cities in Asia, with the peninsula of Clazomenè and the island of Cyprus, should be subject to Persia; that Athens should preserve her authority in the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which belonged to her by immemorial prescription; that all the other states, small and great, should enjoy the independent government of their own laws; and that such republics as rejected these conditions, should be compelled by force of arms to obey them. Dishonourable as these terms were, another condition still more dishonourable was proposed by Antalcidas, and accepted by the Persians. Conon, who had performed such signal services to the latter, was seized by them, thrown into prison, and, as Isocrates asserts in his panegyric, ignominiously put to death.

its effects on
Greece.

By this treaty, the Greeks were placed, with regard to Persia, in a situation very inferior to that which they had formerly maintainedⁱ. Not only the freedom of the Asiatic cities, in defence of which they had so long despised all the threats, and so often baffled all the efforts, of the Persians, was shamefully sacrificed; but the dependence of the smaller cities in Greece upon the greater, and that strength which both derived from this connection, was, in a great measure, weakened or dissolved. While the general interest of Greece, however, suffered by this negotiation, that of the Lacedæmonians was promoted^k. It removed at once the danger hanging over them

ⁿ Xenophon. Hellen.^k See Note, p. 41, &c.ⁱ See Paneg. of Athens, p. 44. and 71.

from

from a powerful and exasperated enemy: as the Asiatic Greeks were principally attached to Athens, the abandoning of them to the great king brought no considerable disadvantage to Sparta; and as she expected still to retain in subjection those cities which had submitted to her own authority, it was of no small importance in enabling her to maintain a pre-eminence over the more powerful states, that the weaker should be declared free and independent.

That such considerations had induced her to conclude a peace, which seemed at first sight to abridge her authority, did not long remain doubtful. Secure on the side of Persia, the Spartans soon discovered their intention to re-establish their tyranny in Greece; and they began by humbling the power of every state that might ever become a match for their own. This indeed seemed to be already in a great measure effected^m. Athens had gained consideration by the late success of Conon, but had not attained her former power: the territory of Argos had been laid waste; and the wealth of Corinth, in which the whole strength of that republic consisted, had been consumed in the war. Mantinæa, however, arose with splendour, even in the neighbourhood of Sparta. The rapid advancement of this city gave her no small uneasiness, and she modestly required the inhabitants to demolish it, and to retire into those villages in which their forefathers had lived contented. They refuse to comply; the Spartans endeavour to compel them by force of arms; the Mantinæans defend themselves with vigour; but their enemies stop the current of a river, which overflows their city, and obliges them to abandon it. Olynthus, a city situated at a distance, but still more considerable than Mantinæa, suf-

The behaviour of the Spartans in consequence of it.

Cruel treatment of the Mantinæans;

of the Olynthians;

^m Diodor. lib. xv. Xenophon. Hellen.

of the Phli-
fians ;

ferred equal severities. Imitating the politics of Lacedæmon, the Olynthians, under pretence of delivering the places in their neighbourhood from the tyranny of Amyntas king of Macedon, had entered into them by force, and reduced them into subjection. Their ambition excited the resentment of Sparta (who thought herself exclusively entitled to perpetrate such acts of violence), and drew upon the Olynthians a memorable revengeⁿ. Their resistance was long and spirited; the hardships which they supported, incredible; but their sufferings at length compelled them to surrender, and to follow the fortunes of the conqueror. The Spartans afterwards availed themselves of a domestic contest among the Phlians, for displaying the same tyrannical spirit, by an exertion of severity as extraordinary as it is cruel and barbarous. The Phlians, like every state in Greece in those days, were divided into factions. The prevailing party had, according to custom, banished their opponents. These the Spartans ordered to be received back into the city; but as their countrymen treated them not with that respect which belonged to persons under so powerful a protection, commissioners were appointed by Sparta, composed partly of her own citizens, and partly of Phlian exiles, who tried, and condemned to death, those who had ventured to insult her dignity, and bid defiance to her power^o. The overbearing arrogance of the Spartan magistrates in several other instances, is forcibly described by Isocrates, in his discourse on the peace; and the reflection which he there makes on the consequences of their behaviour, ought to be for ever remembered by those who conduct the affairs of nations^p.

ⁿ Diod. ubi supra.

^p See page 172.

^o Xenophon. Leuncl. p. 553 & 563.

HISTORY OF THE GREEKS.

XXXV

The efforts which Sparta employed in subjecting the neighbouring cities, abated not the activity with which she persecuted Thebes. Her general, Phœbidas, soon after the peace with Persia, had seized the Cadmæa, or citadel, which he garrisoned with Lacedæmonian troops. Many of the Theban citizens, intimidated by this act of violence, and unwilling to submit to the indignities which they well knew would be offered them, abandoned their country and possessions; and not less than four hundred of them took refuge in Athens. The greater part of those who remained at home were, during the four years that the Lacedæmonians possessed their citadel, harassed by every severity. Such Thebans as were enemies to the democratical form of government, joined with Sparta in these vexations, and, as the reward of their injustice and cruelty, were entrusted by her with the whole administration of affairs; which, as they held it only by her appointment, they exercised agreeably to her directions. Having banished by a public decree their fellow-citizens who had fled to Athens, they solicited that state to expel these unhappy men from her territories. But the Athenian people, remembering how lately they had themselves experienced the same cruel misfortunes which the Theban fugitives now suffered, were moved with too tender a sympathy to abandon them; and the exiles, provoked by this fresh instance of the most unrelenting hatred, determined at every hazard to seek revenge on their persecutors. The measures which, under the conduct of Pelopidas, they put in execution for this purpose; the secret correspondence which they entered into with such as remained attached to them in Thebes; their contrivances for returning thither unobserved; the assassination of the Theban magistrates; and the recovery of public freedom—afford an example of one of the best conducted revolutions

of the Thebans.

Divisions among the Thebans.

The exiles return;

restore the public freedom;

tions recorded in history. The citadel, however, was still guarded by fifteen hundred Lacedæmonians; but the Thebans, animated by that noble spirit which distinguished their deliverers, inspired by those sentiments which the prospect of liberty never fails to excite, and reinforced by a considerable body of Athenian troops, attacked the citadel with such vigour, that the garrison, perceiving the danger to be imminent, and seeing no probability of speedy assistance, surrendered at discretion.

are successful
in the war a-
gainst Sparta.

When news of this revolution reached Sparta, the senate resolved, without delay, to chastise the Thebans for what was called their rebellion. Cleombrotus (for the age and infirmities of his colleague Agesilaus excused him from undertaking this expedition) marched at the head of a powerful army into Bœotia; laid waste the richest parts of that territory; but effected nothing decisive against the Thebans. These, soon after, had the address to engage the Athenians in their quarrel, and were thus enabled to oppose him in the field. The smaller communities of Bœotia also, though they commonly bore with great impatience the dominion of Thebes, yet dreading subjection to the still severer yoke of Sparta, readily flocked to the Theban standard, and threw the balance in their favour. Cleombrotus was deemed an unequal match for this opposition; and Agesilaus, though old and infirm, was again ordered to lead his countrymen to battle. But whether his extraordinary success against the Persians was the effect, not of the superiority of his own genius, but of the ascendant which the Greeks always maintained over the Asiatics; or whether his great age, and a continual course of labour and fatigue, had exhausted the warmth and vigour of his youthful years; he performed nothing

thing in this expedition that indicates the wisdom, activity, and foresight, of which his admirer Xenophon has left so beautiful a panegyric. Though he marched at the head of twenty thousand men against a people who seemed devoted to destruction, Chabrias the Athenian, who commanded the mercenaries in the Theban service, made him retreat, by a stratagem not less simple than uncommon. The Thebans, determined to act only on the defensive against a superior force, had occupied a hill in the neighbourhood of their city. Agesilaus detached a body of light-armed troops to provoke them to quit their situation; but as this measure was ineffectual, he drew out his whole forces in order to attack them. Chabrias then commanded his troops to be in readiness, to hang their shields on the left arm, to support themselves with one knee on the ground, to extend their spears, and thus firmly to maintain their posts. Alarmed at an unusual arrangement, which seemed to bid him defiance, Agesilaus withdrew his army from before the city, and employed them in committing further ravages on the neighbouring territory. In the skirmishes which happened afterwards, victory always inclined to the side of the Thebans. Agesilaus returned to Sparta to be cured of his wounds, and was reproached^a by Antalcidas for teaching the enemy to defeat him. The Spartan generals who supplied his place had no better success. Pelopidas killed one of these with his own hands in an action at Tanagra; and in the pitched battle of Tegyra, the Spartan forces, though more numerous than those of the enemy, were broken, defeated, and put to flight; a disgrace which, as they formerly used to boast^b, had never once befallen them.

^a Plut. in Pelop. Diod. ubi supra.

^b Xenophon. Hellen. lib. v.

B. C. 374:
The king of
Persia endeavours to promote peace in Greece.
His motives.

The Thebans refuse to ratify the peace of Antalcidas.

Meanwhile the king of Persia, acting in opposition to his ordinary system of politics with regard to Greece, laboured to promote a peace between the contending parties. This arose from no change of sentiments in favour of the inhabitants, to whose manners and form of government he bore an irreconcilable aversion, but from his having occasion for their assistance, in order to effect the reduction of Egypt, which had revolted. Athens and Lacedæmon, wearied out with continual hostilities, listened to his proposal; and so unsettled and miserable was the situation of the Grecian republics at home, that twenty thousand men abandoned their country, and engaged, under the command of Iphicrates the Athenian, in the Persian service. The Thebans alone, elated by their late success, refused to weaken themselves by such a diversion of their force, or even to ratify the peace of Antalcidas, by which they pretended to have been deprived of the sovereignty which they had a just title to assert over the smaller cities of Bœotia. When pressed on this subject by ambassadors from the neighbouring states, they answered in a tone so different from what they had been accustomed to assume, that it astonished all Greece. To the Spartans, in particular, they replied, that Messenè, and even Laconia, were as much entitled to the government of their own laws as the lesser cities of Bœotia; and that they were determined never to comply with a treaty which declared the latter independent, unless the Spartans set an example of moderation, by restoring liberty to those communities which they at present kept in subjection. The Thebans urged their pretensions with firmness, because they had power to maintain them. They carried matters still farther; and,

* Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi.

availing themselves of the weakness of their neighbours, which gave them an opportunity of imitating with impunity the tyrannical system of Sparta, they surpris'd Thespiæ and Plataea, two small but independent republics; treated the inhabitants with the utmost severity[†]; and had not the generosity and public spirit of Epaminondas, whose merit and services gave him great weight in the councils of his country, on this occasion restrained their injustice and cruelty; Thebes would have subjected the inferior states of Greece to a new train of calamities.

B. C. 373.

The motives which engaged that republic to meditate the execution of designs so inconsistent with the common interests of the Grecian confederacy, were the same with those which had actuated the Athenians after their victories over Persia, and which had influenced the conduct of Sparta after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. The extraordinary length to which all those states carried their resentment against their enemies, as well as their excessive tyranny and ambition, were deeply founded in the very nature of their political institutions. No republic ever felt itself in a situation to harass its neighbours, without taking the first opportunity to do so; and by whatever means different states might acquire pre-eminence, they all equally employed it for the purposes of tyranny and oppression.

The motives
of Thebes.

The Thebans, until this period, were considered with the rest of the Bœotians, as a dull inactive people, noted to a proverb for stupidity[‡], and infamous among the Greeks, on account of their ancient alliance with Xerxes. But the senti-

[†] See the Oration for the Plataeans.

[‡] Horace has preserved it; Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum. Lib. ii. Epist. 1.

The circumstances which favoured the ambitious views of the Thebans.

ments inspired into them by Pelopidas, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke, their uncommon success against enemies hitherto deemed invincible, the firm philosophical courage and generous magnanimity of Epaminondas, gave a certain elevation to their national character, and now rendered them as ambitious of glory and conquest, as they had been before anxious for quiet and preservation. But, though the extraordinary abilities of two great men, and the still more extraordinary union which prevailed between those who were naturally rivals in war, politics, merit, and fame, might be of no small consequence in rousing the spirit of their countrymen, and in animating those latent principles which had hitherto remained unexerted; yet it does not seem reasonable to concur with the general opinion of writers, in ascribing to this circumstance alone, the ascendant which Thebes acquired over republics, which had long looked down on her with contempt. A cause both slight and accidental, seems inadequate to so important and permanent an effect. Victory in an engagement may be owing to the superior skill and activity of the commander; a system of public measures, highly beneficial to a nation, may be adopted and carried into execution by one virtuous disinterested man; but to ensure a continued course of success during a war which lasted for several years; to bestow resources on a people who were totally deprived of them; to elevate a republic above rivals, as superior to her in bravery as in power; and to enable her to maintain this superiority, until too boundless an ambition occasioned her downfall, are operations so far beyond the ordinary abilities and influence of single men, that we ought not to ascribe them to these alone, unless, after the most attentive inquiry, no concurring causes could possibly be discovered. But
in

in fact, the surprising elevation which Thebes assumed above the neighbouring republics, is partly accounted for by a contemporary writer, whose works have met with too little attention from those who have examined philosophically the revolutions of Greece.

Isocrates dwells on the calamities which the Athenians and Spartans occasioned to one another^z, as well as to all their neighbours, by their ambitious struggles for pre-eminence. When they had, alternately, acquired it, their behaviour was so extravagantly unjust and imperious, that, by alienating the minds of their allies, and throwing their subjects into despair, they prepared the way for the destruction of an authority, the intolerable exertions of which were universally felt and detested. The perpetual contests which, during seventy years, had been exhausting the strength of these republics, augmented the relative importance of their neighbours, some of whom by a felicity, rare in that age, were so fortunate as to enjoy considerable intervals of tranquillity.

Thebes, in particular, had by this means silently arrived at power, and had gradually extended her authority over the smaller communities of Bœotia. Neither Athens nor Sparta had been alarmed by her encroachments; and watchful to check the ambition of each other, they had neglected to prevent the increase of a republic, whose reputation and splendour long continued inferior to her real power. When the Spartans became at length sensible of their error, they acted with such an imprudent violence as drove the Thebans to despair; and these having thrown off an odious yoke, took such measures as might prevent it from being again imposed on them. They intro-

The internal
state and pro-
sperity of
Thebes.

^z Discourse on the Peace.

duced a more severe system of military discipline; they adopted a mode of arranging their forces in order of battle, different from that practised among the rest of the Greeks; emulation, ardour, mutual friendship, and that spirit of combination, often inspired by the necessity of self-defence in turbulent and distracted times, had united a certain number of their citizens in the closest engagements, and had determined them to the generous resolution of braving every danger in defence of one another. They were named the sacred band, headed by Pelopidas, consisted of three hundred men, all in the prime of life, and of tried fidelity. For a long succession of years they were crowned with victory, wherever they fought; till, at the battle of ~~Cheronea~~ *Cheronea*, they were cut down as one man by the Macedonian phalanx^a.

The internal
state of Sparta.

While the Theban institutions had acquired new vigour, those of the Spartans had gradually relaxed. Even Archidamus, the son of a Spartan king^b, acknowledges, that his countrymen had fatally degenerated from their ancient character. The laws of Lycurgus had in a great measure ceased to govern them. Wealth and luxury had been introduced and become general, and the seeds of all those corruptions were already sown, which Aristotle in his politics^c censures with as much justice as severity. Such of Lycurgus's laws as still remained in force, tended, upon a change of circumstances, to produce many dangerous effects. While Sparta continued satisfied with her simplicity of manners, her poverty, and her virtue; and while she had no object in view, but to resist the solicitations of pleasure, and the encroachment of enemies, the law which discouraged all intercourse

^a Plut. in Pelopid.

^b Isoc. in Archidam.

^c Lib. ii. Chap. 9.

with

with strangers, and prohibited them from ever being admitted to the rank of citizens, tended only to preserve that striking peculiarity of manners which characterises this singular people. But when she abandoned her ancient maxims, became ambitious, wealthy, triumphant, always engaged in war, not for defence, but for victory and conquest, the idea of keeping her citizens a body separate and detached from all the rest of mankind, and of maintaining a superiority over Greece by the valour of two thousand Spartans^d, was to the last degree chimerical. As she never thought of incorporating the conquered nations, of giving them an interest in her victories, and thereby rendering them willing partners in her dangers, it was impossible for her to continue constantly employed in war, without being at length exposed to inevitable destruction. Not only the defeat, but even the victory, which deprived her of the lives of her citizens, was a misfortune; every loss was irreparable; and notwithstanding several uncommon^e expedients employed to prevent this effect, the population of Sparta gradually decreased, and the numbers which perished in war could no longer be sufficiently supplied. Thus did the ancient glory and renown of this state already exceed its present abilities to maintain them; and the Thebans, when they bade defiance to an enemy less formidable in reality than in appearance, acted in a manner as consistent with prudence, as agreeable to the ideas of national honour. It was not, therefore, the vain enthusiasm of unwonted success, nor the spirited eloquence of a single man^f, but a confidence in their present strength, compared with the weakness of Sparta, which deter-

^d Iloc. Panath.^e Strabo, lib. vi. Pausan. in Lacon.^f Plaut. in Epaminond. &c.

mined them to enter the lists with that republic, and to decide their pretensions by the event of a battle.

The battle of
Leuctra.

B. C. 371.

The Spartans soon gave them an opportunity of bringing the matter to this issue. They had listened to the Theban arrogance, in other respects, with indignation; but they lost all temper when they talked of depriving them of their dominions. It was, therefore, determined in the senate, to invade Bœotia without further delay. Cleombrotus, the Spartan king, was appointed to conduct the expedition. His army consisted of twelve thousand men, levied chiefly among the allies of Lacedæmon, who followed him with reluctance. As the nearest passages into the Theban territory, were strongly guarded by forces determined to defend them, the Spartans were obliged to protract their march, which, averse as the bulk of the army were from the principles upon which this invasion was carried on, necessarily exposed them to many inconveniences. At length, however, they penetrated into Bœotia by the way of Phocis; arrived at Leuctra; and encamped in a large plain which lies in that neighbourhood. Their numbers were considerably increased by the arrival of Archidamus², at the head of a great body of troops, which had been sent by the Spartan senate, to reinforce the army of Cleombrotus. The united forces now amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse: The Theban cavalry were nearly as numerous, but their foot exceeded not six thousand. Epaminondas, however, far from being discouraged by the inferiority of his numbers, gave orders, that all those who were either averse from danger, or who disapproved of the cause, might be allowed to retire in safety; a permission which the Thebians and some others thought proper to embrace. But

² The same for whom Isocrates wrote the oration entitled by his name.

the army in general determined to stand by him to the last, and either to defend their country, or to perish in attempting it. The skill of the general equalled the ardour of the troops; and both united, rendered them invincible.

Cleombrotus^b, according to the ancient custom of the Spartans, had disposed his forces in the form of the crescent or new moon. His cavalry were posted in squadrons, along the front of the right wing, where he commanded in person, at the head of his Spartans. The allies formed the left wing, commanded by Archidamus. Epaminondas, sensible that the success of the battle would depend chiefly on the fate of the former, determined to charge with his left, and to destroy or seize the person of Cleombrotus. If this design should succeed, the Spartans, he thought, would be defeated; and even the attempting it, would naturally produce great disorder in their ranks, as the bravest would run from every quarter to defend the sacred person of their kingⁱ. As it was to the behaviour of his left wing, therefore, that he committed the fortune of the day, he strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep^k. The cavalry were placed in the van in opposition to the Spartan horse, which they excelled as much in courage as in discipline. Pelopidas with his sacred band, flanked the whole on the left; and as if no one station had been worthy of them, they were prepared to be present in every quarter of the field, where they might be called either by an opportunity of success, or by a prospect of distinguished danger. The misfortune to which the Thebans were most exposed, was that of being surrounded by the enemy,

^b Dioc. lib. xv.

ⁱ See Isocrat. Orat. on the Peace, p. 181.

^k Xenophon Hellen.

as they advanced to the attack. This, however, the general had foreseen, and in order to prevent it, he had spread out his right wing; of which the files had only six men in depth, and the ranks proceeding in an oblique line, diverged from the enemy, in proportion as they extended in length.

The action began with the cavalry, and those of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely consisted of such horses as were kept by the richer citizens for pleasure¹ in time of peace, were soon broken, and thrown back on the infantry. During the confusion which this occasioned in their ranks, and which was still farther increased by the impetuous onset of the sacred band^m, Epaminondas formed his left wing into a compact wedge, with a sharp point, and with spreading flanks. The disorder of the enemy prevented them from attending to this movement, and they rushed against his right wing, where they found little or no resistance. While they attacked this part of the army, which, even from the manner in which it had been originally drawn up, seemed prepared for a retreat, Epaminondas advanced with his left wing, which, darting like the beak of a galleyⁿ on the flank of the enemy, bore down every thing before it, and quickly arrived at the place where Cleombrotus himself fought, surrounded with his Spartans. The occasion demanded all the valour which these were able to display. The bravest soldiers, the most gallant officers, fly to the assistance of their prince, cover him with their shields, defend him with their swords and lances. Their ardour resists the progress of the Thebans; till the Spartan horsemen who attended the person of Cleombrotus, are all cut down^o; and he himself pierced with many wounds, falls on the bodies of his generous defen-

¹ Isoc. in Archid.^m Plut. in Pelop.ⁿ Xenophon Hellen.^o Xenoph. Leuncl. p. 596.

ders.

ders. The battle now rages with double fury. Anger, resentment, and despair, by turns agitate the Spartans. The death of the king seemed, according to the ideas of that age, a slight misfortune, compared to the disgrace of allowing his body to remain in the power of their enemies. To prevent this, they exert their utmost efforts, and their desperate valour is successful. But they could obtain no farther advantage; for the prudent attention of Epaminondas in fortifying his ranks, and in maintaining his order of battle, soon gave him a complete victory over the undisciplined fury of broken troops. Among the Spartans who fell, in struggling to recover the lost honours of the day, was Cleonymus, the peculiar favourite of Archidamus¹. The young prince had formerly, at the solicitation of his friend, saved Sphodrias, the father of Cleonymus, from a dangerous prosecution. The son declared, that his conduct should never disgrace the affection and attachment of his generous protector. "Nor," says Xenophon, "was the love of Cleonymus his disgrace, but rather his ornament²."

Meanwhile, the allies being apprised of the rout of the Lacedæmonians, knowing that Cleombrotus was slain, and unwilling, after these unfortunate events, any longer to expose their lives in a cause which they had never heartily approved, unanimously take to flight. They are pursued with great slaughter, and the Thebans remain sole masters of the field.

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had reached their camp, and were secure from immediate danger, they began to be astonished at their overthrow. Sparta had never before received such a wound, whether we consider the numbers

The effect of
it on Sparta.

¹ See the Oration of Archidamus, p. 102, &c.

² Xenoph. Leuccl. p. 570.

of

of the slain or the loss of national honour. Many Lacedæmonians declared, that the disgrace was intolerable; that they could never permit the Thebans to erect a trophy over them; and that, instead of craving leave to bury their dead under the protection of a treaty (which was to acknowledge their defeat), they were determined to return into the field, and to attempt recovering them by force of arms. A council of war was called to deliberate, whether this spirited proposal ought to be complied with; but the persons of greatest authority and experience were averse to so bold a measure. They took notice, that of seven hundred Spartans who were present in the engagement, four hundred had fallen; that the Lacedæmonians had lost one thousand, and the allies two thousand six hundred; so that the whole loss on their side amounted to about four thousand men, while scarcely three hundred Thebans had perished¹. This immense disproportion, they observed, rendered it highly improper to venture another engagement, in which, if the feeble remnant of Spartans were cut off, their city and country would be left naked and defenceless. Their army, indeed, still greatly outnumbered that of the Thebans. But Sparta could have no confidence in allies, who only followed her from fear. How carefully soever they might conceal their real sentiments during her prosperity, they were emboldened, by her misfortunes, to avow them. After the present defeat, they not only declared their opinion against venturing a second time into the field, but even discovered no small satisfaction², at the humiliation and disgrace of their haughty and tyrannical masters. Yielding to the necessity of this unfavourable juncture, the Spartan council agreed to send a herald, who should crave

¹ Diodor. lib. 15.² Xenophon Leuccl. p. 597.

leave for the vanquished to bury their dead, and acknowledge the right of the Thebans to erect a trophy of their victory.

When news of these unfortunate events reached Sparta, the inhabitants departed not from that striking peculiarity of behaviour which resulted from their singular institutions. The messenger arrived while they were celebrating the gymnastic games; and being introduced to the Ephori, he acquainted them with the public misfortune. These magistrates, though they felt the full weight of the blow which the state had received, permitted the entertainment to be continued; they sent, however, to each family the names of the warriors whom it had lost, and enjoined the women to abstain from unavailing tears and lamentations. Next day the fathers, and other relations of those who had perished in the field of battle, were seen abroad in the public places, dressed in their gayest attire, saluting and congratulating one another on the bravery of their kinsmen. But the connexions of such as had saved themselves by flight, either remained at home, and in silence brooded over their domestic calamities, or if they ventured to appear in public, discovered every mark of unutterable anguish and despair*. Their persons were shamefully neglected, their garments rent, their arms folded, their eyes fixed immoveably on the ground. This behaviour, which appears at first sight so superior to the narrow principles of ordinary men, is usually ascribed to the generous magnanimity of the Spartans. It naturally resulted, however, from the institutions established by Lycurgus. Availing himself of that extraordinary respect which uncultivated nations bestow on military courage in preference

* Xenophon, p. 596.

to all other virtues and accomplishments, he appointed, that the Spartan who had lost his defensive arms, or who had fled in the day of battle, should have but one choice to make. He was commanded either to retire into perpetual banishment, where he was exposed to suffer every indignity which, in a rude age, the resentment of barbarous and rival tribes might inflict; or, if he continued at home, he was excluded from the public assemblies, from all offices of power or honour, from the protection of the laws, and almost from the society of men. His condition, therefore, seemed far more miserable than death; and his relations were with reason most severely afflicted by it. On occasion of the unfortunate overthrow at Leuctra, the rigour of the Spartan institutions were mitigated for the first time. Agesilaus being appointed with full powers to enforce them, the great numbers of the guilty deterred him from severity. But he endeavoured to atone for abandoning the spirit of the laws by the solemn formality with which he administered them. "Let us suppose," said he, "these sacred institutions to have slept during that unfortunate day, but to have now resumed their former vigour and activity:" a sentiment which, although it appears puerile, has been extravagantly praised by many writers^y, as preserving the authority of the laws, while it spared the lives of the citizens. But as, on the one hand, we may be unable to discover the profound wisdom and admired sagacity of Agesilaus in performing this act of lenity; so, on the other, we should not condemn^z as imprudent the act itself, which the present circumstances of Sparta rendered not only convenient but necessary. If that city had been more populous,

^y Plutarch. Xenophon.

^z See Mably sur les Grâces.

HISTORY OF THE GREEKS.

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or could have easily supplied the numbers which fell in battle, it might have been expedient to sacrifice three hundred citizens to the honour of military discipline, which became the only safety of the Spartans, the moment they abandoned that love of virtue, poverty, and moderation, which Lycurgus had been at such pains to inculcate. But a community extremely small, and weakened, at present, by the loss of four hundred of its members, could not have borne a second diminution nearly as considerable, without endangering its political independence. No distant prospect of advantage, therefore, could have justified so unseasonable a severity.

The report of the overthrow at Leuctra was no sooner spread over Greece, than the important consequences with which the humiliation of Sparta would be attended, became every where conspicuous. Eleans, Arcadians, Argives, every people who had been influenced by the Spartan councils, or intimidated by the Spartan power, openly aspired at independence. The less considerable states hoped henceforward to continue without molestation, no longer paying contributions, or obeying every idle summons to war. The more powerful republics breathed hatred and revenge, and gloried in an opportunity of taking vengeance on Sparta for the calamities which she had inflicted on Greece.

On the rest of
Greece.

But amidst this general ferment, and while every other people were rather guided by their private passions and animosities, than by the principles of sound policy, the Athenians exhibited an illustrious example of political moderation. A Theban herald, crowned with garlands, had been immediately dispatched to Athens, to relate the particulars of the victory, and to invite the Athenians to an offensive league against Sparta, at a time

Measures
adopted by
the Athenians
in conse-
quence of it.

when they might crush at once the inveterate enemy of their republic. The Athenians, however, wished to humble the Spartans, not to destroy them. The ancient and illustrious merit of the latter, the importance of their services in the Persian wars, and their being still regarded as a necessary branch of the Grecian confederacy, might have some effect in producing this determination. But the principal cause of it was a dread of the growing power of Thebes, the rapid progress of which was sufficient to alarm the Athenians. If that republic should continue to advance in greatness, she must become, merely by the situation of her territories, a more dangerous opponent to Athens than even Sparta herself. This political consideration for once prevailed over a deep-rooted national antipathy. The Athenians did not even receive the Theban herald with decency. He was not, according to the Grecian custom, entertained in public; and, though the senate of the five hundred was then sitting in the citadel, he returned home without obtaining the smallest satisfaction on the subject of his commission.

But although the Athenians did not think proper to second the Theban resentment, by utterly destroying Sparta, they determined to reap every possible advantage from her present humiliation and distress. As they knew that the inhabitants of Peloponnesus would be no longer inclined to follow her standard, they thought this not an unfavourable opportunity of delivering them for ever from her yoke; and lest any other nation might aspire at the rank which Sparta had lately held, and attempt to establish their own power on the ruins of public liberty, they dispatched messengers into the several cities, desiring their re-

^a Xenophon, p. 601.

spective compliance with the treaty of Antalcidas. War was denounced against such as rejected this proposal, made in the name of Athens and her allies; which was declaring that the victory of Leuctra had put the balance of Greece in her hands, and that she had determined to check the ambition of any people whose views were too aspiring.

Meanwhile the Mantineans rebuilt their city which the Spartans, in the pride of their prosperity, had demolished. The inhabitants of Tegea, encouraged by their example, invite the neighbouring villages of Arcadia to join with them in one community, to erect a common capital, and to be governed by the same laws. But as the ancient animosities still subsisted in that country between the nobles and people, the partisans of the former endeavoured to defeat this undertaking. Both parties had recourse to arms, and the friends of the popular government prevailed by the assistance of the Mantineans. Those of their enemies who escaped death, being on account of their political principles naturally attached to Sparta, took refuge there, and, amounting to the number of eight hundred, formed a seasonable supply to a city drained of inhabitants. Five hundred Bœotian exiles, expelled by the tyranny of Thebes, followed their example in demanding the Spartan protection. Such persons as were banished from Argos fled to the same asylum, and together with the inhabitants of Phlius, Pallené, and some other cities which their more powerful neighbours, presuming on the weakness of Sparta, began to oppress with intolerable severity, enabled the Lacedæmonians again to draw together the appearance of an army. Encouraged by this unexpected good fortune, those who, in order to defend their own territories, had lately armed
such

Domestic dissensions in several states of Greece;

which are favourable to the Spartans.

B. C. 369.

Their expedition into Arcadia.

such citizens as exceeded the military age^b, and even such as were destined for executing the civil employments most necessary in society, determined to invade Arcadia, and to re-establish their former interest in that country. But it was the fate of Sparta never to regain the honour, which she had lost in the plain of Leuctra. Polytropos, who commanded her allies in this expedition, was defeated and slain in the first rencounter with the enemy. Nor did Agesilaus perform any thing decisive against them. He was satisfied with ravaging the delightful fields of Arcadia, in which he met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who declined coming to an engagement with him, until they should be reinforced by promised auxiliaries from the Thebans^c.

Obliged to evacuate that territory.

These, ever since the battle of Leuctra, having exercised themselves in arms, were desirous of another opportunity of signalizing their valour. They arrived on the borders of Arcadia with their associates of Locris and Phocis, and were speedily joined by the Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army greatly exceeded in number any that had ever been before collected in Greece, and amounted to fifty thousand men^c. The Boeotians were commanded by Pelopidas and Epaminondas, to whom their colleagues had voluntarily resigned their share of the divided authority. Agesilaus, apprised of the march of so powerful an army, conducted by generals of such unquestionable merit, prepared to evacuate Arcadia; and he had the good fortune to effect this purpose before his foldiers had seen the fires kindled by the enemy; by which means he avoided the disgrace of seeming to retire at their approach.

^b Xenophon, p. 597.^d Diodor. Rhodom. p. 376.^c Ibid. p. 605.

HISTORY OF THE GREEKS.

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The Thebans, though they found Arcadia thus delivered from the invaders against whom they had assembled to defend it, were determined to avail themselves of the mighty preparations which they had collected. Their allies were so far from opposing this design, that they encouraged them to employ their present strength in taking complete vengeance on their enemies. It was unanimously determined, therefore, to march straight into Laconia, to lay waste the whole territory, and, if possible, to take possession of the capital. When, in consequence of this resolution, the united army had arrived near the frontiers of Laconia, Epaminondas divided his whole forces into four squadrons, that they might break into the devoted country by separate roads, and then repair to Sellasia, the place of rendezvous, from which they were to advance in one body to Sparta. The Bœotians, Elians, and Argives, penetrated with little opposition by the particular routes which had been assigned them; but when the Arcadians, who composed the fourth division of the army, attempted to traverse the district Sciritis, Ischolas, who guarded that pass, determined to repel them, or to perish. The example of Leonidas at Thermopylæ animated this brave Spartan. The Arcadian forces were so numerous, that death seemed the certain reward of his courage. Yet he desired none to submit to the danger, who were not ambitious to share in it. He even commanded all the youth to leave his camp before the engagement. Their lives, he thought, were too precious to be risked in so desperate an attempt, and their services might, on many future occasions, prove beneficial to their country. He, with the old soldiers who followed him, embraced the present opportunity of meeting a glorious death. But they sold their lives at a dear price to the enemy. The battle was long doubtful, the slaughter

The Thebans
march into
Laconia.

Bravery of
Ischolas.

slaughter of the Arcadians great, and the Spartans, wearied with destroying, and surrounded on every side, were, at length, cut down to a man^f.

The desolation of Lacedæmonia.

The confederates having soon after joined forces at Sellasia, marched forward to Sparta, burning and destroying all before them. During five hundred years, Lacedæmon had never once been subjected to a similar calamity. The guards which defended the city were thrown into consternation. The^g women durst not look at the smoke raised by the enemy, which they formerly boasted as a singular good fortune never to have seen in their native country. Agitated by the immediate danger which threatened them, the Spartans ventured to give arms to the Helots, the slaves whom they commonly treated with such an excess of cruelty. Not less than six thousand of these unhappy men were induced, by a promise of liberty, to undertake the defence of the unrelenting tyrants whom they detested. The great number of such dangerous allies augmented the terror^h of the Spartans, which did not begin to abate until a body of mercenary troops, which was then quartered at Orchomenus, reinforced by many inhabitants of Phlius, Corinth, Epidaurus, and Pallene, arrived most seasonably to their relief. Animated by this sudden and unexpected supply, the Spartans passed at once from the depths of despondency to the triumphs of success. Their magistrates could hardly restrain them from rushing forth to meet the enemy in the field; a measure which several of them pursued, but which, had it been generally adopted, must have left the city altogether defenceless. It is not my intention to describe the furious assaults of the besiegers, nor the desperate resistance of the besieged. Every attempt of the former to

^f Diod. Rhodom. p. 377.

^g Xenophon. 608.

^h Xenoph. ibidem.

render themselves masters of the city was attended with such loss of men, that they at length abandoned an enterprise, the success of which could not have repaid the fatigue and danger to which it exposed them. But they continued to desolate the country, to destroy the villages by fire, and the inhabitants by the sword; until the Elians, Arcadians, and Argives, tired of an expedition which had consumed several months of the winter, a season when they were seldom accustomed to go to war, became anxious to secure their plunder, by returning into their respective territories, which lay at no great distance. Thus the army gradually diminished; provisions likewise grew scarce; and the Thebans, deserted by their allies, and fearful, perhaps, lest they might be intercepted in their passage through the isthmus of Corinth by the Athenians and Corinthians who had lately declared against their measures, withdrew from the Lacedæmonian territories. These, however, they did not finally abandon, until, as Xenophon expresses itⁱ, "every thing of any value had been consumed or plundered, poured out or burnt down."

But this cruel desolation of Laconia did not satisfy the resentment of Epaminondas. The project which he now executed was deemed still more dishonourable to Sparta, than any thing that had yet befallen her. Messenè was an ancient city, situated near the western coast of Peloponnesus. Its territories bordered on Laconia; and its inhabitants were of the ancient Doric race, and of the same original with the Spartans. The interested disputes which naturally arose between these neighbouring tribes, gave birth to many mutual injuries. Both communities were brave, and independent; and their manners still continued in that state of primitive rudeness in which honour

Epaminondas
rebuilds Messenè.

History of
that city.

ⁱ Xenoph. Leunc. p. 612.

and distinction are only acquired by superiority in war. A continuation of rivalry gradually rankled into an inveterate antipathy; their hostilities were carried on with a barbarous fury that is unworthy of being described; and the one people determined no longer to exist, unless they could exterminate the other.

B. C. 684.

This fatal event happened to the Messenians; their city was demolished, their bravest citizens put to death, and the rest either reduced into servitude, or obliged to wander as fugitives over Peloponnesus. Their situation in that country was so intolerable, that many of them sought refuge in Sicily, where they founded the city Messina, which still retains the name of their ancient metropolis. The remainder who continued in Greece, had always kept themselves distinct from every other community; and after more than three centuries, they spoke their ancient Doric dialect, retained all the prejudices of their nation, gloried in the exploits of their heroic Aristomenes, detested the name of Sparta, and still expected to avenge themselves of her cruelty*. Epaminondas determined to gratify this agreeable hope, which no length of time had been able to extinguish. He assembled the scattered Messenians, distributed their lands among them, and rebuilt their city with more than its ancient grandeur. Thus protecting these unhappy men, whose cause had been so long abandoned, and re-establishing them in their hereditary possessions, he converted an act of generous compassion into cruel vengeance on the Spartans. Their ancient rivals began to flourish in their neighbourhood; the Messenians invited the Helots to become members of their rising community; these, eluding the severe vigilance of their masters, flocked to an

Humiliation
of Sparta.

* Diod. Rhodom. p. 48. 263. 378.

asylum

asylum at length opened to receive them; Messenè became every day more populous; and Epaminondas, having left a Theban garrison to defend the new inhabitants, prepared to return into his own country, after giving this fatal blow to the Spartan power and ambition. B. C. 369.

The humiliation of this republic, which kept pace with the growing power of Messenè, alarmed the fears of her only allies who had hitherto remained faithful. The inhabitants of Phlius, Epidaurus, and Pallènè, having witnessed the punishment inflicted on the Spartans, dreaded lest the next Theban expedition might be directed against those who had been most active in their defence. They were extremely solicitous, therefore, to obtain peace¹; but they made no overtures to the conquerors on this subject, until they had discovered their intentions to the Spartan council. The magistrates of that republic, encouraged by the spirited advice of Archidamus, told them they might conclude a separate peace with Thebes, but that, for their own part, they were determined rather to perish, than to witness the grandeur of Messenè^m. This obstinate resolution would, in all probability, have subjected them to a calamity which sometimes happened in Greece, and have put an end to the existence of Sparta as a state, if the confederacy formed against her had continued to act with vigour. But the conquerors began to disagree among themselves about the division of the territories which they had acquired. Interested disputes led the way to contests of honour. The Eleans and Arcadians, becoming sensible of their own strength, refused any longer to yield the command to Thebes in their joint expeditions. The power of that republic, however, still continued to increase; and as she

Her allies desire peace.

Sparta rejects it.

¹ *Iloc.* in Archidam.

^m *Ibid.*

Athens enters
into an al-
liance with
that state.

B. C. 361.
Battle of Man-
tinæa.

The social
war.

B. C. 357.
The sacred
war.

now aspired at pre-eminence both by sea and land ^m, the Athenians entered into a strict alliance with Sparta. The war was thus kept alive for several years; and when the contending parties, wearied of mutually ravaging each other's territories, determined to decide their fortune by the event of a battle, and for this purpose drew a greater number of Greeks into the field at Mantinæa, than had been ever before collected for destroying one another, they performed nothing worthy of such mighty preparations. The Spartans lost the battle, the Thebans their general. Both parties retired, and erected trophies of victory. Both sent to request their dead as conquered, and Greece continued to be involved in the same confusion as before ⁿ.

The Athenians, who acted not as principals, but only as auxiliaries in this scene of disorder, acquired an accession of relative strength ^o, founded on the decline and weakness of their neighbours. They employed this advantage with their wonted imprudence; harassed and insulted their allies; and excited the social war ^p, which ended in declaring the independence of those states which their tyranny had compelled to revolt. Athens had scarcely agreed to this dishonourable accommodation, when the sacred war broke out between the Locrians and Phocians. The former obtained assistance from Thebes and Thessaly, the latter from Corinth and Lacedæmon. At length the quarrel became general, and the feeble efforts of republics, weakened by continual hostilities, had no other effect but to increase the hatred with which they persecuted one another. National resentment, carried to its utmost excess, en-

^m Plut. in Epaminond. Xenophon Hellen.

^o Oration on the Peace, *passim*.
the Peace, p. 146.

ⁿ Xenophon Hellen.

^p See Introduction to the Oration on

gaged the Thebans to solicit assistance from Philip of Macedon, the natural enemy of Greece. This crafty prince terminated the war, after it had lasted ten years, in a manner extremely advantageous to himself. He who had hitherto been considered as a stranger and a barbarian^p, was admitted as a member into the Amphiſſionic council; and the superintendence of the Pythian games was bestowed on him, as an honour due to his services. These, however, were attended with no lasting benefit to Greece. For he had no sooner drawn off his army from that unhappy country, than it was again agitated by new commotions. Philip having appeased the former disturbances, was again called to undertake this friendly office. He obeyed, and was as successful as before. From this moment he became the arbiter of Greece. The more powerful states courted his friendship, for the sake of taking vengeance on each other; the weaker solicited his protection against lawless tyranny and oppression; and the majority of the Amphiſſionic council, which consisted of deputies from most of the Grecian states, were ready to throw themselves into the arms of an absolute prince, as a happy deliverance from the calamities which seemed inherent in their republican form of government. The Athenians alone were bent on opposing this design. While Phocion and the wiser citizens^q, who had generally little weight in their councils^r, advised them to maintain peace with those against whom they were unable to carry on war; Demosthenes, whose talents as an orator has concealed his defects as a statesman^s, roused them to arms, danger, and liberty. Chiefly through his persuasion, they engaged in an unequal contest with a prince who offered them peace on their own terms. They were

B. C. 348.

^p Demosthen. in Philip. passim.^r Xenophon. &c. Repub. Athen.^q Plut. in Phoc.^s See the Life of Isoerates.

joined

B. C. 338.
Battle of
Chæronæa.

joined by the Thebans, whose government approached in democratical turbulence nearest to that of Athens'. The imprudence of both states was severely punished in the field of Chæronæa, where their bravest citizens either perished or submitted. Philip, by this victory, became master of Greece, the liberties of which expired with those zealous republicans. "When they were cut off," as Demosthenes affirms, "no farther resistance was made." The dignity of Greece was lost, and lost for ever.

The fatal tendency of the political institutions of Greece.

Thus were those turbulent democracies deprived at once of civil liberty and national independence. The calamities, however, which they were destined to suffer, in being subjected to a foreign yoke, were less considerable and severe, than those which they had inflicted on one another, and which naturally resulted from their political institutions. Yet, if any nation could ever have adopted these institutions without feeling their inconveniencies, the Greeks were themselves placed in a situation the most favourable for this purpose. The smallness of their communities, and the natural boundaries which separate one district of Greece from another, were peculiarly adapted to the republican plan; and besides this circumstance, they enjoyed several moral advantages^x, which ought in some measure to have corrected the unhappy tendency of their political system, and to have rendered it more tolerable in Greece than in any other country. But if there is a people upon earth, who, though their situation in these respects be the reverse of that of the Greeks, would nevertheless re-establish a similar plan of government; and disdaining to continue happy subjects of the

^x Isocrates on the Peace.

^y Demosthen. Fun. Orat.

^z Examples of great men, progress of arts and philosophy, simplicity of manners in private life, &c. See Part II.

country under whose protection they have so long flourished, would set on foot a republican confederacy, let them tremble at the prospect of those calamities, which, should their designs be carried into execution, they must both inflict and suffer.

The unhappy consequences of their domestic dissensions would be confined to themselves, but the fatal effects of their political system would extend to the remotest provinces of Europe. The republics, which at present subsist in this quarter of the world, scarcely deserve the name, and are, besides, so inconsiderable, that were their principles truly democratical, the influence of them would be checked by the prevailing maxims of their more powerful neighbours. But if that turbulent form of government should be established in a new hemisphere, and if popular assemblies and senates should be there entrusted with the right to exercise power, why might they not abuse it as shamefully as before? Why might not the ancient barbarities be renewed; the manners of men be again tainted with a savage ferocity; and those enormities, the bare description of which is shocking to human nature, be introduced, repeated, and gradually become familiar?

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and development. It begins with the first settlers who came to the continent in search of a new home. They found a land of vast resources and opportunities, but also one of many challenges. The early years were marked by conflict and struggle, but the spirit of the American people was one of resilience and determination. They fought for their rights and their freedom, and in the end, they won. The United States emerged as a nation of great power and influence, and its story continues to unfold today.

The early years of the United States were a time of great change and growth. The country was expanding its territory and its population, and it was developing its economy and its culture. The American people were proud of their new nation and its achievements, and they were determined to make it a land of opportunity for all. They fought for their rights and their freedom, and in the end, they won. The United States emerged as a nation of great power and influence, and its story continues to unfold today.

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A
D I S C O U R S E
UPON THE
MANNERS and CHARACTER of the GREEKS,
FROM THE
Conclusion of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR to the Battle
of CHÆRONÆA.

P A R T II.

The Manners and Character of the Greeks.

THERE is not any thing more various and undefinable than personal character. The same man is, at different times, so different from himself; and such a variety of circumstances and motives direct or influence his behaviour, that it is difficult to give any such general description of him, as shall not, to most of his acquaintance, have the appearance of satire or panegyric. Besides this, the manners, and tempers, and dispositions, of different men, have so near a resemblance, or are distinguished by shades so faint and imperceptible, that it requires uncommon acuteness to separate them from one another, and to assign to each individual his respective merit. But the characters of nations are marked by bolder lines, and glow with

Personal character undefinable.

That of nations more easily distinguished.

with warmer colours. The causes and circumstances which discriminate one people from another, must be such as are fitted to operate on the multitude, and consequently of a nature equally powerful and permanent; they are too strong and too palpable ever to be mistaken; and the difference of sentiment and action which they introduce, is too considerable to escape the least attentive observer. It is natural to expect, therefore, that those who employ themselves in tracing the characteristic features of different kingdoms, should for the most part agree in their delineations. And this, doubtless, would be the case, if such writers contemplated the same facts, and reasoned on the same principles.

Causes of the errors on this subject.

But, unfortunately for the improvement of knowledge, and the interests of truth, the opinions of men are warped by system, in the moral sciences, as well as in the natural. A few observations suggest a brilliant idea, which becomes the favourite idol of the mind. Facts are twisted; particulars generalised; and the singularities of a few individuals, employed as a sufficient basis to support a national character.

With regard to the people whose manners are the subject of this discourse, various causes concur in rendering the force of system peculiarly vigorous. Their institutions were, in many respects, different from those to which we are accustomed; our information concerning them is extremely limited; and few have recourse to those sources from which the most material information may be obtained.

Grounds of the admiration excited by the institutions and manners of the Greeks.

When we confine our attention merely to the public transactions of the Greeks, and consider either their wars with the Persians, in which they struggled for independence against a foreign enemy, or their domestic contentions, in which they fought

fought against one another for pre-eminence, the envy, distrust, and animosity, discovered on such occasions, may be easily converted, by a little heightening of eloquence, into emulation, patriotism, and courage. The virtues which animated a few great men, whose minds were elevated by the important measures which they were called to conduct, and whose illustrious merit historians and biographers have been at great pains to describe, are thus construed into general characteristics of the nation. On such partial grounds have authors, equally distinguished by genius and learning, described with admiration the manners and institutions of the Greeks. In reading their elegant performances on this favourite theme, we seem transported into a new and unknown country, where the wonders of art, and the virtues of men, vie with the beauties of nature and the climate, and heighten the pleasures which they afford. Impressed with these charming, but fanciful descriptions, we recal, at the name of Greece, the ideas of taste, eloquence, liberty, and virtue; and imagine, that we can never exhaust the praises of a people, among whom those inventions and discoveries, which form the chief ornament of human nature, were originally produced; and, being reared with peculiar care, attained full vigour and maturity. The merit of that system of government, in particular, which opened a field of improvement so beneficial to man, cannot, we think, be sufficiently extolled. If genius be the father of refined arts, liberty, it has been asserted, is their mother. She not only gives them birth, but nourishes and supports their infant state; and the advantages most glorious for Greece, because peculiar to that country, are commonly ascribed to the republican institutions first established there, unknown in a

great measure to the rest of the ancient world, and never adopted in their full extent by any modern nation.

The effects of
their public
transactions
on national
happiness, &c.

But when we examine the effect of the Grecian institutions, which afforded such scope to the efforts of genius, and to the virtues and abilities of individuals, on the happiness of the nation at large ;—and when, in this view, we contemplate the transactions of those celebrated republics in negotiation or war, as enemies, colonies, or allies, our admiration is converted into pity. No people seem to have paid less attention to those common but important maxims which have been introduced for the general benefit of society ; and it may be affirmed, that their condition, even during the most brilliant period of their political existence, was more calamitous and afflicted, than that of any other polished nation which history describes ^a.

The principal
circumstances
which influence
the character of
nations.

The situation of a country with regard to its neighbours, and the revolution of public affairs, have doubtless a great influence on the manners of its inhabitants. They are splendid and important objects, and have seldom failed to attract the attention which they deserve. But the internal policy of a state, the abundance or scarcity of the things most necessary for life, the refinement or simplicity in which the people are accustomed to live, the progress of arts whether liberal or mechanical—these circumstances have a no less powerful effect in determining the national character ; and, as they lie more concealed from ordinary observation, have commonly been neglected and forgotten. In explaining their condition and extent, as well as their effect and tendency, among the Greeks, I shall not have occasion to describe, at any length, the singular institutions of Lycurgus, which had ceased in a great measure to

^a See Part I. throughout.

govern the Spartans^b, before the commencement of the period of history which is the object of the present work. Before this time, the different states of Greece had been gradually approaching to a near resemblance; and at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, they had attained a striking similarity in government, manners, and laws^c. But the features of the Greek character, which sufficiently distinguish the whole nation from every other, were more prominent, if I may say so, in the Athenians, than in any of the neighbouring people. To them, therefore, my observations will more particularly relate; and I shall remark, in the progress of my discourse, the principal lines of deviation from Athenian manners in the other Grecian republics.

The features of the Greek character more prominent in the Athenians.

In the extensive and well regulated kingdoms of modern Europe, men are deterred from injustice by the certainty of punishment. Their pretensions, as well as their obligations, are determined by positive institution, and private competitions are seldom allowed to disturb the public tranquillity. In the tumultuary governments of ancient Greece the causes of dissention were innumerable; while the feeble restraint of laws, ill administered, was unable to counteract their force. We need only open Xenophon, Thucydides, or Diodorus Siculus, to observe the perpetual contests between rich and poor, between the friends of democracy and the partisans of aristocratical government. Aristotle informs us^d, that in several republics, the higher ranks of people bound themselves by oath to neglect no opportunity of doing wrong to their inferiors. We learn from Xenophon^e, that the populace of Athens commonly behaved to the rich, as if they had acted under the in-

Differences in the interior government of modern nations and that of the ancient republics.

Causes of the seditions in Greece.

^b Xenophon, de Repub. Lacedæm. Ifoc. in Archid.

^c Xenophon, ibid.

^d Polit.

^e De Repub. Athen.

How they
terminated.

fluence of an engagement no less atrocious. Amidst the opposition of contending factions in the smaller states, near one half of the community were frequently put to death, or banished by the other; and, on many occasions, the vanquished party, reinforced by foreign assistance, returned back into their country, and retorted similar injuries on their unhappy opponents^f. During these furious agitations, no more respect was paid to what is sacred than to what is profane. Secret treachery conspired with open violence. Even the principles of assassination were publicly avowed; and wretches boasted before numerous assemblies, of having insidiously murdered their fellow-citizens^g.

The causes of
domestic dif-
fensions and
private quar-
rels.

In the intervals of these violent paroxysms of party-rage, private quarrels kept the state in perpetual fermentation. The competitions for civil offices, for military command, for honours at religious solemnities, or at public entertainments, opened an ever-flowing source of bitter animosity^h. Neighbours were commonly at variance. Every one was regarded as an enemy, who had not proved himself a friend. Hereditary resentments were transmitted from one generation to another; and the seeds of discord being sown in such abundance, yielded a never failing produce of libels, invectives, and legal prosecutionsⁱ.

The state of
the judiciary
power at
Athens.

The principal employment of six thousand Athenian citizens consisted in deciding law-suits. The courts of justice were shut on the holidays^k, which engrossed two months in the year; so that during the remaining ten, the judicial office occupied a

^f Diodor. lib. xv. et passim.

^g Lyfias in Agorat.

^h Lyfias in his Oration relative to a consecrated Olive.

ⁱ Idem in Alcibiad. Isoc. ibid.

^k See Lyfias against the Exchequer.

number of persons, almost equal to a third part of the whole community¹. These judges determined causes not only between their fellow-citizens, but between the different subjects of the republic, who, comprehended under the various names of colonies, allies, or tributary states, were all equally amenable to the Athenian tribunals². The profits arising from courts of justice afforded a valuable resource to the poorer citizens of Athens: The fees to which they were lawfully entitled, amounted annually to an hundred and fifty talents; the bribes which they received, probably exceeded that sum; and both united, composed a sixth part of the Athenian revenues³. As the far greater proportion of judges among that litigious people, were chosen promiscuously from the whole body of the citizens, they excited nothing of that respect which, in most other nations, the exercise of judiciary power naturally commands. Instead of magistrates elevated above the common rank, and prepared by a long course of laborious education for the honourable functions to which they are called, the Athenians invested persons in the meanest stations of life, with a power to explain the laws, and to decide questions, where fortune, life, and liberty, were at stake. These judges were in every respect on a level with those whose differences they determined. As they were accustomed to the same manner of life, and engaged in the same occupations or amusements, they were naturally animated by similar feelings, and actuated by similar motives. Hence the Athenian pleadings wear an air of peculiar liberty; the parties descend into such particulars as before no ordinary tribunal could be admitted; and, exhibiting their

¹ See Introduction, p. v.

² Xenophon de Repub. Athen.

³ Aristoph. Vesp. See the Introduction, p. ix, &c.

The general
character of
the Greeks.

sentiments and character without disguise or reserve, present the most interesting, because the most genuine picture, of the manners which distinguish that celebrated age. From a superficial view of this judicial information, the most authentic surely that can possibly be obtained, it will appear in general, that Greece was not that happy country which has been often so eloquently described, nor inhabited by that generous race of men who rose superior to the little passions of ordinary mortals. In many respects those fierce republicans differed from the nations with which we are best acquainted; but in many particulars, also, they agreed. The *amor patriæ* was like the patriotism of modern times, more frequently pretended than real; their public spirit, hypocrisy; and, while in order to deceive one another, they continually talked of virtue and liberty, they had, at bottom, no other object in view in all their civil contests, but private interest and ambition.

The distinction of ranks
in the ancient
republics.

The following orations enable us not only to describe the Athenian character, but to point out the circumstances which chiefly contributed to form it. In order to have a more complete view of this subject, we may consider the different classes of men in Athens, as citizens, strangers, and slaves; and examine the manners which naturally resulted from each particular condition. In a republic, where hereditary honours were unknown, and where the magistrates, appointed by lot, or elected by suffrage, returned at the year's end to a private station, distinction of ranks could only be founded, either on the personal merit, or private fortunes, of individuals. Antient writers continually speak of the rich and poor as the two princi-

* See Lyfias's defence of a citizen accused of destroying the ancient government.

pal divisions in the state. They formed indeed two distinct parties; each of which had its particular views and separate interests. I shall hereafter have occasion to assign more particularly the limits of Athenian fortunes; it is sufficient for the present purpose to regard those as rich, whose estates yielded the necessary comforts of life. This class of citizens, as well as the poorer sort, till the age of forty, were bound by the duty of personal service in defence of the republic. When relieved from this oppressive task, they were loaded with the still severer burden of public contributions. On all extraordinary occasions they were obliged to supply the deficiencies of the exchequer^p: it was their province to exercise every public office attended with expence^q; and many private acts of generosity were rather extorted from them, than solicited, by those who stood in need of their assistance^r. When called a second time to the performance of the same duties which had already half ruined their fortunes, no argument, how well soever it might be founded, and with whatever art it might be urged, was sufficient to excuse them. They were compelled either to submit to the task, which their countrymen had imposed, or to exchange their estates with such as offered to undertake it^s.

The duties
required of
the rich.

Amidst these oppressive regulations, two circumstances were fitted to give peculiar uneasiness. If the money required of the rich had been employed either for the relief of the distressed, or for the general interest of the community, good citizens might have consoled themselves by the prospect of public benefits for the loss of private fortune. But it was not with a view to equip a

The hard-
ships which
they suffered.

^p Isocrates on reforming the government of Athens.

^q Xenophon. de repub. Athen.

^s Isoc. ibid.

^r Lyfias concerning the goods of Aristoph.

fleet, to levy soldiers, to portion the daughters of the poor, or to employ their sons in agriculture and commerce, that the heaviest contributions were demanded¹. A man might have performed all these generous offices, without being entitled to the public approbation. When an accusation was brought against him by those who envied his prosperity, and when his liberty and life were in danger, he solicited in vain the protection of his judges, unless he could describe his magnificence in religious festivals, in theatrical entertainments, in shows and figured dances exhibited for the amusement of the people². The sums laid out for these extravagant purposes were the most profitably expended; and for these alone, he had reason to expect the highest returns of favour.

But with regard to the money which he had been ordered to contribute for the defence of the state, he had no security that it should ever be applied for this beneficial purpose. The rapacity of the treasurers³ was as unbounded, as the injustice of the public was intolerable. The latter was open and avowed, and the citizens were so well accustomed to it, that they began to consider it in the same light with sickness, old age, or any other natural calamity⁴. The embezzlement of their magistrates, indeed, they bore not with equal patience. This is always spoken of with great warmth and indignation. But reiterated complaints could not correct the disorder. The only consolation left, was that those rapacious demagogues, after they had sufficiently enriched themselves by the plunder of their country, would in all probability be plundered in their turn, and banished, perhaps, or put to death⁵.

¹ Lyfias concerning the goods of Aristoph.
of bribery.

² Lyfias, *ibid*.

³ Lyfias in defence of a citizen accused

⁴ Lyfias against the exchequer.

⁵ Oration against Ergocles, in the Life of Lyfias.

I have already hinted at the irregularity of the Athenian tribunals; and the rich were the ordinary victims of their injustice. These corrupt assemblies were liable to every species of undue influence. The parties came into court attended by their friends, relations, and sometimes by almost all those of the same ward or district^a: they endeavoured to seduce, when they could not intimidate; perjury and false witnesses were extremely frequent^b; and while the plaintiff and defendant used every dishonourable art for accomplishing their designs, the judges gave loose reins to the most disorderly passions. They were biased by particular affections or personal resentments; guided by the capricious fury of the vulgar, they punished with uncommon rigour the criminals who were first brought before them; when their rage began to subside, they afterwards became as weakly compassionate, as they had been before unjustly severe; they relented of their cruelty, and allowed, perhaps, the accomplices of those whom they had already condemned, or such, at least, as were tried for the same crimes, to escape unpunished^c.

By the irregular administration of justice between one man and another, property was rendered so precarious, that the possession of it could not afford any considerable enjoyment. But it was always attended with extreme inconvenience. The wealthy man lay at the mercy of every invidious accuser who might traduce his character, and arraign his conduct. Before he entered on the different offices, which he was obliged to undertake, the whole tenour of his behaviour, public and private, was carefully examined by his country^d. After he had ex-

^a Life of Lyfias.

^c Lyfias, *ibid.* et passim.

^b Lyfias concerning the goods of Aristoph.

^d Lyfias against Evander.

executed these offices, he was called to a strict account of his administration; and, till he had satisfied his judges in that particular, he could neither alienate, nor remove, any part of his fortune; he could not travel into foreign countries; and the loss of liberty was added to complete the sum of his misfortunes^c. It was disputed at Athens, not without reason, whether the condition of the rich or poor was the most disagreeable; and general opinion gave it against the rich, though they themselves, from the avarice natural to man, were often unwilling to be divested of those possessions which only exposed them to innumerable hardships^f.

The character
of this class of
men.

When we consider the unhappy situation of this class of citizens, it is not to be supposed that they bore any sincere affection to the government under which they lived. They found it necessary, indeed, to assume the appearance, and to employ the cant, of patriotism, on all public occasions. "The surest revenue of the state consists in the generosity of its subjects." "I will employ my fortune more for the service of my country, than if it were thrown into the Exchequer^g." While they endeavoured to deceive the public by such magnificent pretences, the spirit of their government led them to conceal, to deny their riches; and, as in countries where the worst species of despotism prevails, to cover under the veil of poverty the real affluence of their condition^h. It appears that they were even extremely indifferent about that liberty, on which they are commonly thought to have placed so high a value. Lyfias mentions it as a maxim universally acknowledged, that no man was naturally more inclined to one form of government, than to another; and

^c Æschines in Ctesiphont.

^f Xenophon. Sympol.

^g Lyfias in defence of a citizen accused of receiving a bribe from the enemy.

^h Demosth. de class. Isocrates on reforming the government of Athens.

that

that private interest was the sole foundation of all political contests. Every citizen, indeed, supported with extraordinary intrepidity the party which he had embraced, because slavery or death were the natural consequences of a defeat. In domestic dissensions, therefore, as well as in foreign wars, the Greeks gave illustrious examples of courage and force of mind, gallantry in enterprise and persevering vigour in execution, qualities, in which men familiarised to danger will commonly excel. But these virtues they displayed sometimes in defence of one system of government, and sometimes in defence of another. The same persons often changed sides, as interest directedⁱ; they had no consistency of character; and if we examine the general behaviour of those who are most distinguished by particular acts of patriotism, we shall find that it by no means corresponds to the ideas commonly entertained of them. Thrasylbulus is regarded as one of the most unblemished characters of antiquity, and is celebrated by Cicero for having enjoyed the singular felicity of proving twice the favour of his country. Yet Thrasylbulus is accused by his contemporaries of receiving bribes; of accepting a ransom from his prisoners, and afterwards detaining them in captivity; of betraying the ships which he commanded to the public enemy; and of committing many other crimes equally base and flagitious^k. It is proved that, under unjust pretences, he frequently extorted money from the Athenian allies. Ergocles, his friend, who had assisted him in re-establishing the democracy, and who had been an accomplice in many of his crimes, was impeached by Lyfias, tried by the Athenian assembly, and condemned to death, after being stripped of the immense sum of thirty talents, which he had

ⁱ See p. 287.^k Lyfias against Evander.

amassed by injustice¹. Thrasylbulus, by dying abroad, escaped a similar prosecution, which would probably have terminated in as disagreeable a punishment^m.

Few Athenians have been more generally admired than Theramenes, who died rather than concur in the measures of the thirty tyrantsⁿ. Xenophon records his sayings in his last moments, when he displayed an alacrity and firmness of mind which deserve not to be found in any character that is not truly virtuous. But the punishment of Theramenes, we are assured, was justly inflicted. He overturned the democracy; betrayed his country to the Lacedæmonians; and he is accused of breach of friendship, of perfidy, and of murder^p. After these patriots of the first magnitude, it is unnecessary to mention more

¹ See Lyfias against Ergocles in the life of Lyfias.

^m An ingenious and manly writer, speaking of the social affections, observes, "That on this foundation was raised that admirable character, which, during a certain period of their story, distinguished the celebrated nations of antiquity, and rendered familiar and ordinary in their manners, examples of magnanimity, which, under governments less favourable to the public affections, rarely occur; or which, without being much practised, or even understood, are made subjects of admiration and swelling panegyric." "Thus, says Xenophon, "died Thasybulus, who, indeed, appears to have been a good man. What valuable praise, and how significant to those who know the story of this admirable person!" I am persuaded, however, that examples of magnanimity were never so familiar and ordinary in the manners of any people, as not to excite admiration. The Greeks, surely, were not unacquainted with swelling panegyric^{*}; nor is Xenophon sparing in his praises, when he thinks them justly earned[†]. It is probable, that he was well acquainted with many parts of Thrasylbulus's character; which, though it was not his province to relate them in his Grecian history, afford a sufficient reason why he bestows on him so cold a panegyric. His meaning may be, that, notwithstanding the crimes with which this statesman and warrior was charged, his general conduct was the object rather of ~~admira-~~ *admiration* than of censure; and that, on the whole, he deserved the character of a good man.

ⁿ See introduction to the orations against Agoratus and Eratosthenes.

^p Lyfias against Eratosthenes.

^{*} See Isoc. Panegy. Lyfias Funer. Orat.

[†] See Xenophon in Agesilao.

obscure names;—to insist on the inhumanity of Theomnestus, the injustice of Evander, the treachery of the younger Alcibiades, the rapacity of Philocrates, the cruelty of Philo^a; all of whom, though they pretended to the highest political virtue, and aspired to the first offices of state, were convicted of crimes, which, in any modern country of Europe, would have subjected them to an infamous death.

If such was the character of too many of those who were styled the better sort of people^r, it is not to be expected that their inferiors in rank and fortune, should have behaved more honourably. The greater part of the Athenian citizens were reduced to extreme indigence. Although landed property was divided among more proprietors in Greece than in any modern country, yet five thousand citizens of Athens are said to have enjoyed no immoveable possessions^s. Destitute of patrimony or income, sufficient to procure the means of a decent subsistence, they were too lazy to acquire them by their own industry. Many led a listless insignificant life, sauntering about the public places, inquiring after news, satisfied with the gleanings of profit to be picked up in the courts of justice, or with the wretched subsistence allowed them by the treasury. Their dress was frequently so mean and dirty, that it was difficult to distinguish them from slaves^t. During summer they danced in embroidered robes, but passed the summer in places too shameful to be named^u. “And how is it possible,” adds Isocrates, “that those who are deprived of the common necessities of life, should give themselves any trouble about the government?” We find, accordingly, that they were exceedingly ill-qualified for executing

The poor.

Their misery.

How they subsisted.

^a The orations of Lysias, passim.

^s See p. 317.

^u Isocrates on reforming the government of Athens.

^r Xenoph. de repub. Athen.

^t Xenoph. ibid.

those

those offices with which they were too often entrusted. As they had in a great measure engrossed the administration of justice, it was not uncommon at Athens to bribe the clerks employed in transcribing the laws of Solon, to abridge, interpolate, and corrupt them. What is still more extraordinary, such a gross device frequently succeeded; nor was the artifice discovered until parties came into court with contradictory laws^x.

Their consolation.

What sort of persons were elected into the first offices.

This lowest class of Athenian citizens, which, as we learn from Isocrates^y, was by far the most numerous, endeavoured to alleviate the misery of their condition by a very criminal consolation. They persecuted their superiors, banished them their country, confiscated their estates, and behaved with unexampled licentiousness in the public assemblies^z. It has been said, that though they were entitled to the first offices of state, they seldom attempted to obtain them^a. But this observation is only true when confined to offices attended with expence. When any profit could be reaped, they were ever ready to grasp it. The management of the exchequer was the most lucrative employment in the republic; and to be entrusted with this charge, was the high ambition of all the popular demagogues. Yet we have a list of treasurers, regularly succeeding one another, who were raised to this confidential office from the meanest ranks in life. Low cunning and noisy impudence elevated Eucrates, a seller of wool, to this important station. He was succeeded by Lyficles, a dealer in cattle, who excelled him in these accomplishments. Hyperbolus, a maker of lamps, adding profligate debauchery to his other eminent qualities, was taken into high favour; but every competitor

^x Life of Lyfias.

^z Isocrates on the Peace.

^y Oration on reforming the Government of Athens.

^a L'Esprit des Loix, b. i.

gave way to the matchless effrontery and bare-faced lies of Cleon, a currier, and the son of a man who had long exercised the same liberal profession ^b. It appears, therefore, that although the Athenians were sometimes directed by the justice of an Aristides, the abilities of a Pericles, or the virtue of a Phocion, they more frequently listened to men of an opposite character. The most turbulent, dissolute, and licentious, commonly prevailed in the assembly; and specious qualities carried off the rewards due to real merit. Isocrates ^c assures us of the fact; and Xenophon ^d affirms, that it is perfectly agreeable to the nature and principles of the Athenian constitution. From the manners of those elected into the first offices, we may discover the general character of the electors. It was a compound of cruelty, fraud, drunkenness, debauchery, and every vice degrading to human nature ^e.

Character of
the poor.

The most miserable and most numerous class of inhabitants in Athens, were the slaves. These were treated with great severity in all the Grecian republics. Deprived of every privilege belonging to them as men, they were punished, insulted, and tormented, at the will of a capricious master. It was even customary to afflict them with wanton and unprovoked cruelty, and to subject them, without any offence on

The condition of slaves
in the different republics.

^b Aristoph. Equit. et Vesp.
of Athens.

^c Oration on reforming the Government

^d De Repub. Athen.

^e See Lyfias against Simon. Wound from Malice aforethought, &c.

Writers have been at great pains to explain how the Athenians came to be deprived of their virtue. It is not very consistent in Montesquieu ^{*} to account for this, in one page, by the victory of Salamis; and in another, by the death of Epaminondas, which happened near a century afterwards. It had been, perhaps, more to the purpose, to prove that this virtue, so much celebrated, was ever a general characteristic of the Athenian people.

^{*} Edit. d'Amsterdam, 1764, vol. i. p. 191 & 193.

their part, to stripes and blows; that every spark of ingenuous nature being extinguished, they might be the better fitted for submitting to an entire and unreserved obedience.

Such was their general treatment over all Greece; but at Sparta it was still more intolerable. As the citizens of that republic, when unemployed in war or political affairs, wholly addicted themselves to hunting and other amusements, the ground was cultivated, and all mechanical professions exercised, by slaves only. These increased to such a pitch, as to become formidable to the state. Hence they were watched with uncommon attention, and murdered by way of sport, or to enure the young Spartans to blood; and when any danger seemed to arise from them, butchered by thousands, in a manner too shocking to be described^a. The conduct of the Athenians with regard to their slaves was reckoned more gentle than that of any of their neighbours. Demosthenes asserts, that it was better to be a slave in Athens, than a denizen in many other republics^b. But this is spoken like an orator; for he allows that his countrymen commonly preferred the evidence of slaves, which was always extorted by torture, as a more infallible method of discovering the truth, than the testimony of freemen^c. Lyfias frequently takes notice of the same barbarous practice. The Athenian citizens were fond of wearing long hair, which was therefore forbidden to slaves. These unhappy men were depressed by every other mortifying distinction, treated as creatures of an inferior species, and might be used, as Lyfias affirms, in any manner that seemed good to their masters^d. Such was the boasted gentleness of the Athenian institutions; and the effects of them on the character of masters and slaves were equally pernicious.

^a Plur. in Lycurg.

^b Philip. II.

^c In Oniter.

^d Wound from Malice aforethought.

The former, being accustomed to treat with severe harshness those who were subject to their authority, could not be expected to entertain very humane sentiments for their fellow-citizens. The latter, exposed as they were to continual indignities, and degraded below the condition of human nature, became insensible to every manly feeling; and governed by hatred, resentment, malice, and all the worst passions incident to the human frame, "they were always more desirous of obtaining liberty by the destruction of their masters, than by the merit of their own services¹." Hence the manners of the whole nation were tainted with a savage ferocity, of which it is not easy, in the present age, to form an idea: And even the best Greek writers, infected by the general contagion, describe with a calm, unfeeling indifference, such atrocious barbarities as ought naturally to excite horror.

The effect of the treatment which they received on their sentiments.

On the general character of the nation.

The hospitality of ancient times, which was deemed so important a virtue by private families^m, was little regarded by the public. The strangers who resided in Athens, though extremely numerous, were reduced to a condition nearly resembling that of emancipated slaves. Possessed of personal freedom, they enjoyed no political or civil rights. They had a patron indeed, who defended them from the injuries of others, but who was entitled to much deference and respect, and to many important services, in return for the assistance which he afforded. If they neglected to perform these services, their patron withdrew his protection; in consequence of which, their whole property was confiscated to the Athenian republicⁿ. Besides this misfortune, which frequently befel

The condition of strangers in Greece.

¹ Life of Lyfias. Lyfias's Oration relative to a consecrated Olive.

^m Aul. Gell. lib. v. c. 13.

ⁿ Lyfias against Philo.

them, they were obliged to pay ten drachmas^o annually to the exchequer; and if they failed in making this acknowledgment at the appointed time, they were immediately sold as slaves by the officers of the revenue^p. Before this actually took place, they were, in one material point, on the same footing with those subjected to domestic servitude. Strangers, as well as slaves, were liable to be put to the question, and to have their evidence extorted by torture^q. As foreigners were more numerous in Athens^r than in any other of the Grecian states, it is probable, that every where else they were treated still more rigorously; and the situation of exiles, we may suppose, was still more miserable than that of other strangers. Hence the continual lamentations of those who are in danger of banishment; a penalty thought equal to death itself^s. Hence likewise we may observe the rigour of the Grecian laws, particularly the Ostracism, which prevailed not only in Athens, but in all the democratical states^t. By this institution, any citizen deemed formidable on account of his power, his riches, or his eloquence, might be banished during ten years, and reduced, of course, to the wretched condition above described^u.

The consequences of banishment, and the severity of the Grecian laws.

The character of women. On what it depends.

Having considered the different ranks of men in the Grecian republics, I should now proceed to examine the manners and character of the fair sex. The behaviour of these must always be relative to the treatment which they meet with; and this will, in a good measure, depend on the barbarity or refinement of the men. These circumstances, again, are nearly connected with their ordinary manner of life, the progress of arts liberal and mechanical, the extent and distribution of private fortune.

^o Hesychius.

^q Lyfias against Simon.

^r Aristot. Polit. lib. iii. c. 13.

^p Demosthen. Orat. 1. in Aristlogit.

^s See Introduction, p. vii.

^t Plut. in Vit. Aristid.

^u Lyfias, passim.

It is proper, therefore, to begin by the first link of the chain; and after considering the private fortunes of the Greeks, their ordinary occupations and amusements, and the arts most cultivated among them, to endeavour to ascertain the condition of women as partners in domestic life, and their rank as members of civil society.

The wealth of individuals, in all the states of Greece, was extremely inconsiderable, when compared with the opulence of the modern inhabitants of Europe. The narrow circumstances of the Athenians afford sufficient evidence of the excessive poverty of their neighbours. Solon divided his fellow-citizens into four classes^u. Those of the first possessed as much land as was sufficient to produce annually five hundred *medimni*^x of grain; the estates of the second produced three hundred; those of the third, two hundred; and the lowest class were either entirely destitute of immoveable property, or possessed such small shares of land as were of very inconsiderable value. In the time of Lyfias, there were no less than five thousand citizens who had no landed estates^y; and the farms cultivated by others could not afford them any better subsistence than that of the meanest cottagers^z. The income indeed of a few great families much exceeded what was necessary, by the regulations of Solon, to constitute them of the first class. But even the richest Athenians were by no means possessed of what would be at present deemed a magnificent fortune. The estate of Conon, who had been employed in many successful expeditions against the enemies of his country, exceeded not 9000 l. That of Nicophemus, which the Athenians were at great pains to appropriate for the public service, scarcely amounted to 4000 l.

The extent
and distribu-
tion of pri-
vate wealth
in Greece.

^u Plut. in Solon.

^y Lyfias, p. 319.

^x Thirteen *medimni* are equal to fourteen bushels.

^z Lyfias against the Exchequer.

Hipponicus,

Hipponicus, who is called by Xenophon ^a and by Isocrates ^b the richest of the Greeks, was not worth 38,000 l., admitting the computation of those who had an interest to exaggerate his wealth. And even the splendid Alcibiades, whose magnificence is so highly extolled by all Greek writers, was never master of 20,000 l. ^c Although we make allowance, therefore, for the high value of money in ancient times ^d, we must still entertain a very mean idea of Grecian opulence. The wealthy few enjoyed but moderate fortunes, while by far the greater part lived in very straitened and miserable circumstances.

The state of
mechanical
arts among
the Greeks.

Agreeably to these observations, we may remark, in the descriptions of ancient writers, an extreme simplicity of manners in every thing relating to private life. The Grecian houses, furniture, table, dress, were all of the meanest kind. Their houses commonly consisted of two floors, the lower of which was often employed as a magazine for holding the provisions necessary for the family ^e. In the habitations of the richer citizens, the apartments of the women were separated from those of the men, and the bath was frequently situated between them. There is a striking example in Lyfias of the little value which the middling ranks of people put on their dwellings. A man, rather in affluent circumstances for an Athenian, succeeds to the house of his brother. He continues in it a year, until the provisions stored in the ground-floor are consumed, and then abandons it to go elsewhere ^f. The furniture of their houses, excepting pictures and statues (of which hereafter), appears to have been of the plainest kind. The

^a *Æconom.*

^b In defence of Alcibiades.

^c Lyfias's Oration relative to the Goods of Aristophanes.

^d See Introduction, p. ix.

^e Xenophon, *Æconom.* Lyfias against Eratosth.

^f Lyfias against Diogeiton.

Lacedæmonians made use of no other instruments but the saw and the hatchet in preparing their household accommodations^g. Their more improved neighbours seem to have been so little acquainted with what the rudest nations in modern Europe regard as the conveniencies of life, that, even in latter times, they were ignorant of the use of beds, and were satisfied with reposing on the ground^h. Their dress was entirely of woollen, which originally cost them very little; but the dirtiness of it put them afterwards to a good deal of expence in the article of perfumesⁱ. The Athenians indeed were much given to the pleasures of the table, which Xenophon considers as an effect of their extensive commerce. They imported, he says, the luxuries of Italy, Sicily, Cyprus, Lydia, Pontus, and Peloponnesus. But the greater part of the citizens, as both Xenophon^k and Isocrates^l observe, could not afford these delicacies; and they seldom pretended to give any private entertainments; they contented themselves with public feasts, which were celebrated with greater expence in proportion as the intervals between them were more distant.

Slavery, as it has been observed, prevailed over all Greece; but the slaves were principally occupied in arts, manufactures, or agriculture, and rarely employed as instruments of luxury or ostentation. Even the better sort of people at Athens submitted to the meanest domestic offices. Lyfias describes the wife of a person of no small importance, opening the door of her bed-chamber in the night, leaving her apartment, going below stairs to suckle her child, and returning again to her husband^m. Their ordinary manner of life was extremely uniform. Part of every morning was commonly spent in public

Their manners in private life.

^g Plut. in Lycurg.

^h Idem in Pelopid.

ⁱ Lyfias, *ibid.*

^k De Deput. Athen.

^l Discourse on reforming the Government of Athens.

^m P. 421.

Their ordinary occupations and amusements.

acts of religion. The bulk of the citizens frequented, in the forenoon, the public assembly, or the different courts of justice. Those whose presence was unnecessary there, and who disdained to be employed in any mechanical occupation, amused themselves with their military exercises, sauntered in the public walks, or loitered in the shops of musicians, and other artists, in which they are said to have thrown away the greatest part of their time ^m.

Vices to which they were most addicted.

As the morning was dedicated to religion, and the forenoon to business, so the evening was the time of pleasure and dissipation. They had no great variety of those amusements which are found necessary in polished societies to divert languor, and to fill up the vacuities of a listless life. Games of hazard are always mentioned with such disgrace, that they must not have been in general use; and none but the most profligate and abandoned seem to have been much addicted to them ⁿ. The men supped apart from the women: those of better fortune commonly invited a few friends ^o; and the bottle appears to have formed a material part of the entertainment. Plato ^p allows the free use of wine in these convivial suppers; as nothing, he says, has a greater tendency to dispose the mind to that benevolence which often terminates in friendship. Even Socrates is represented drinking in large glasses with Agathon and Aristophanes till early in the morning. The conversation, on such occasions, was often lively and agreeable, but sometimes as licentious as the debauchery was excessive ^q; and so little ashamed were the Greeks of their vices, that they affected to practise them as duties of religion. Their solemn festivals

^m Life of Lyfias. Isocrates in Areop.

ⁿ Lyfias against Eratosthenes, p. 423.

^o Lyfias against Alcibiades, et passim.

^p Sympof.

^q Idem, ibid.

commonly

commonly ended with a supper, at which they thought themselves obliged to get drunk in honour of the Gods'. This circumstance had, doubtless, its effect, in distinguishing their superstition from that of the eastern nations, from whom they had borrowed the most essential parts of their religious belief. The worship of the Egyptians was dark and gloomy; that of the Greeks, gay and cheerful. Even the Egyptian hymns were melancholy, and consisted of complaints and lamentations; but the Grecian solemnities concluded with songs of triumph and exultation'. It had been fortunate for the Greeks, had they confined their debaucheries to stated times of convivial merriment; but they frequently intoxicated themselves at all hours of the day; and their excesses in a vice peculiarly hurtful in a warm climate to the powers of the understanding, led them to commit such follies and absurdities as are scarcely to be credited'.

From this short description of their manner of life, it is natural to conclude, that they had made but small progress in the arts of society. These flourish in cities, and the most polished people of Greece much affected a country life. Xenophon's beautiful description of rural happiness, proves that he had felt its charms; and both Thucydides' and Isocrates^x assure us, that the Athenians of the first rank seldom lived in the city. Hence agriculture was reckoned an honourable employment; but the rules of it were little attended to, and less understood'. Commerce was still more neglected. That of the Athenians, though comparatively great, must have been

They had made little progress in the arts of society.

Their agriculture;

commerce.

^r Aristot. ad Nichom. lib. viii.

^s Apuleius de genio Socratis.

^t Lyfias, Wound from Malice. Against Simon, &c.

^u Lib. ii.

^v In Areopag.

^y Xenophon, Oeconom.

extremely inconsiderable in itself. There could be little competition between traders, when a ship often doubled the value of her cargo by a voyage from Athens to the Adriatic². The spirit of industry was checked by the absurd mode of taxation; credit, the soul of commerce, was destroyed by the Grecian institutions, which rendered property precarious; and not only the public, but private persons, were obliged to pay an exorbitant interest for the money which they had occasion to borrow³.

Causes of the
progress of
refined arts in
Greece.

The wants and luxuries, however, of one climate are not the same with those of another. A comfortable dwelling, abundance of the necessaries of life, and all those domestic conveniencies which industry and commerce may procure, are deemed, in northern countries, essential to happiness. Deprived of the advantages which these objects afford, human life would be exposed to innumerable hardships; and to obtain them in great plenty, and in high perfection, is, therefore, the main aim of industrious application. But in Greece, the ingenuity of man can impart few additions to the happy influence of the climate. Nature requiring little, has given almost all that she requires; and art is less employed in warding off inconveniencies which are weakly felt, than in procuring delights which are highly relished. The pleasures of the eye and the ear obtain a preference to other gratifications; and poetry, painting, music, statuary, and eloquence, furnish the most essential articles of luxury. Notwithstanding the unhappy policies, therefore, which prevailed in that country, and the inconsiderable progress of the Greeks in what are called the useful arts, they acquired unrivalled fame in those which are merely ornamental.

Institutions of
government.

² Lyfias against Diogeiton.

³ Lyfias in Aristoph.

MANNERS, &c. OF THE GREEKS.

xcj

Good and evil are promiscuously blended in all human affairs. The rage of foreign war, as well as the turbulence of domestic faction, both of which were deeply rooted in the nature of the Grecian institutions, produced such effects on the progress of refined arts, as could neither have been foreseen nor expected. The former encouraged valour, the latter eloquence; and wherever these qualities are called forth, and exerted in an eminent degree, talents both military and civil must attain a proportionable improvement. The concurring influence of accidental causes promoted the same beneficial end, and favoured the dawning efforts of Grecian genius. A delightful climate, a picturesque country, an harmonious language, a poetical religion; the effect of these, singly, was great; but much greater when united; and conspiring harmoniously together, they operated not only with full force, but in proper direction.

The happy influence of an air and soil, in which the organization of the human body unfolded itself in the rarest productions of beauty and of strength, might have been overcome in Greece, by that fatal propensity to voluptuous indolence, which chiefly prevails where nature has been most lavish of her favours. But the political situation of the Greeks required uncommon attention, vigilance, and activity. Surrounded with perpetual dangers, every citizen was obliged to be in readiness to defend himself against private violence, or to avenge the wrongs of his country. The views of the public concurred with those of individuals in promoting the active virtues, and in endeavouring to render them habitual. Nothing was neglected that might counteract the effect of too luxurious a climate. Private families had their baths, their

Climates

A DISCOURSE UPON THE

gymnasia, or places for exercise. Larger ones were common to whole districts or communities. The youth in each state were trained with care to all military accomplishments. Public games were instituted, which exhibited a constant image of war, even during the short intervals of tranquillity; and citizens from all the different republics being invited to contend at them, personal rivalry was heightened into national emulation^b. The swelling ode celebrated the praise of the victors; and in the most conspicuous places of Greece, animated marbles were erected to perpetuate their renown^c.

Language.

The delightful harmony of the Ionic dialect, would naturally have degenerated, among a less active people, into a liquid and voluptuous softness. But, contrary to what usually takes place, the Greek language, as society improved, became more nervous, forcible, and austere. Panegyrics were employed to celebrate the glory of the brave who fell in battle. Men spoke in great assemblies, where their lives, and liberties, and fortunes, were at stake. Whole nations defended their rights before the crowded tribunals of assembled states^d. And such occasions as these exciting all the powers of persuasion, the vehemence and enthusiasm of the sentiment came to be gradually infused into the language.

Religion.

The religion of the Greeks, considered as an historical account of invisible powers, or as a system of faith calculated to influence the practice and morals of men, may be ranked with the lowest and most illiberal superstitions that ever disgraced the human mind. But if regarded as a collection of ingenious allegorical fictions, invented to please the imagina-

^b Isocrat. Panegyric.

^c Aristot. Polit. Book III. chap. x. Pausanias, lib. vi.

^d Isocrates for the Plataeans.

tion,

tion, it is scarcely possible to conceive any thing better adapted to this agreeable purpose. Such a religious system could never have gained ground, but among a people who enjoyed the gayest and most splendid aspect of nature. Their fancies being warmed by the magnificent scenery of a picturesque country, their hearts being disposed to extreme sensibility by that delicate organization which is natural to their charming climate, whatever afforded delight, easily obtained belief. Statuaries as well as poets, availed themselves of this disposition; and their inventions ranged at large in the wide field of materials, which mythology had created. The majestic Jupiter of Phidias excited awful respect; the Venus of Praxiteles received homage from the fair and tender; modest beauty was admired in Minerva; old age was honoured in Saturn, and youth beloved in Apollo.

The arts thus employed in promoting the worship of the Gods, or in rewarding military valour, came to be themselves thought worthy of reward. Judges were appointed for determining the relative merit of poems, pictures, and statues*. Different, and even rival states, joined in bestowing valuable presents, or in conferring high marks of respect on the authors of those productions which had gained the prize. And this career of honour and distinction being once open, was pursued with peculiar ardour in a country, where court favour and hereditary titles were unknown, where the possession of property was almost as uncertain as that of popular fame, and where personal talents alone could ensure men a lasting elevation above their fellow-citizens.

The institutions of the Greeks relative to refined arts.

* Plin. Lib. xxxv. cap. 35.

The perfection
and general
diffusion of
refined arts
among the
Athenians.

We find, accordingly, that the refined arts were carried to such a pitch of improvement, and diffused so extensively in Greece, as must appear, according to modern ideas, altogether inconsistent with the simplicity of Grecian manners in every other respect. Thucydides informs us^f, that a few years before the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians expended three hundred talents in erecting the gate of their citadel, and other ornamental edifices. A man who is described by Lyfias as being of so avaricious a disposition, that he defrauded his own grandchildren, is said to have spent a sum of money sufficient to maintain an Athenian family several years, in raising a monument to the memory of a brother whom he hated^g. The orator mentions not this as an extraordinary fact, but as a matter of frequent occurrence. Painting was so fashionable an art, that Aristotle^h considers it as a proper branch of general education. "Children," he says, "cannot be too early instructed in it, that they may acquire a taste in the beauty of forms; and, being accustomed in their youth to examine pictures with a critical eye, may learn to avoid imposition in buying household furniture and ornaments." Music was regarded as an accomplishment still more indispensable. Themistocles and Epaminondas are perhaps the two greatest men who appear on the stage of ancient history. Yet an ignorance of music was thought to detract considerably from the merit of the former; while a superior skill in that art added new lustre to all the eminent qualities of the latterⁱ. The Grecian youth were trained with peculiar care to the *gymnastic* exercises and music^k. It even became a matter of state to determine the relative merit of the musical instruments then in use. The flute was pro-

^f Lib. ii.

^g Cicero Tuscul. Quest.

^h Against Diogenes.

^k Soc. in Arcop.

ⁱ Polit. lib. vii. cap. 3.

scribed

scribed at Athens as equally unfavourable to health and beauty; and the poets, who were never at a loss for a fable to promote the views of legislators, pretended, that Minerva having invented the flute, threw it into the river Ilissus, when she observed that playing on it distorted her shape¹.

But the arts of imitation were not cultivated with equal care in all the different republics. They flourished chiefly in Athens, where the features of the Grecian character were marked with peculiar force. Other states excelled in them more or less, in proportion to their connexion with the Athenians by neighbourhood or alliance^m, and to their approximations to the laws and government which prevailed among that peopleⁿ. The Spartans formed, in this as well as in every other respect, the opposite extreme. They affected to despise those elegant accomplishments by which their rivals were distinguished; and banished from their republic every art which tended not to increase the vigour of the body, or to confirm the fortitude of the mind. Even after the other institutions of Lycurgus had fallen into disuse, a contempt for arts, sciences, literature, and refinement, still prevailed at Sparta; and during the highest improvement to which society ever advanced in Greece, a republic of Barbarians subsisted in the heart of that country^o.

The state of
these in other
republics.

When we contemplate, however, the high attainments of the nation in general, in all the refined arts, we examine their character in the most favourable light in which it can possibly be viewed. Their magnificence in public solemnities, religious processions, and theatrical entertainments, followed as a natural

¹ Aristot. Ibidem.

^m Isoc. in Evagor.

ⁿ Panegyr. of Athens.

^o Isoc. in Panathen. et passim. Plat. in Hipp. Maj. Elian. lib. vi. Diodor. lib. xiii.

consequence; and these matters are continually insisted on by the fond admirers of antiquity. But it is evident, from what has been already observed in this discourse, that neither the general improvement of manners, nor the arts of conversation and society, kept pace with the progress of those splendid, but useless amusements; and if we consider the treatment and character of the fair sex, even among the most cultivated people of Greece, the same conclusion will be rendered still more apparent.

The condition of women in different periods of society.

During the early ages of society, men are either employed in acquiring the means of subsistence, or in invading their enemies and repelling their attacks. The natural delicacy and timidity of women render them less qualified for these occupations. Hence, among rude nations, they are treated with neglect, and often reduced into servitude. But when civilization has been carried to a certain pitch; when arts, manufactures, and commerce, have made known the conveniencies and refinements of polished life, talents of the agreeable kind come to be in general request, and are soon universally esteemed. In all these, women are fitted by nature to excel. The imperfections of their sex gradually disappear; they become the objects of affection, acquire respect, and assume that distinguished station in society, which is not demanded with more justice on the one side, than yielded with readiness on the other.

General principles apply not to the condition of women in Greece.

These observations seem natural and obvious; and are justified I believe, by the general history of mankind. Yet they are not conformable to what actually took place in Greece. There the condition of women, instead of being improved by the gradual advancement of society, seems, on the contrary, to have been the most advantageous, where the manners of men were in

other respects the least refined. The Lacedæmonians, though continually employed in war, and unacquainted with arts and refinement which they even affected to despise, yet conferred on women advantages superior to what they enjoyed in any other Grecian republic. While the Spartans were governed by such severe regulations, as monastic rigour has seldom ventured to impose, their wives lived in abundance and luxury; they were entirely exempted from those troublesome observances which the laws of Lycurgus had established; without being obliged to execute any of the offices of government they directed all its measures; and if the whole property of Lacedæmon had been divided into five parts, no less than two of these would have belonged exclusively to the women^p. Aristotle pretends to account for the pre-eminence of the fair sex among the Spartans, from the warlike genius of that people. "The love of war and of women, says he, always go together. The most warlike nations are always the most addicted to the pleasures between the sexes; and the ancient fable which unites Mars and Venus is not a chimerical invention of the fancy, but rests on the most solid foundation^q."

Their treatment at Lacedæmon.

Aristotle's reasoning on this subject.

Among the Athenians, on the other hand, a people famous indeed on account of their martial spirit, but unrivalled in the arts of peace, not more learned than polite according to the ideas of that age, and distinguished by an excessive passion for those refined entertainments which prevail in polished nations, and which they enjoyed in peculiar elegance and perfection, the treatment of women was most ungenerous and unnatural. Excluded from the public shows and amusements,

Their condition in Athens.

^p Aristot. Polit. Book II. p. 105. edit. Conrin.

^q Idem ibid.

deprived even of the pleasures of domestic society, and scarcely venturing to open their lips in the presence of their nearest relations', they were confined with the utmost rigour to the most retired apartments of the family, employed in the meanest offices, and considered in every respect rather as the servants than as the equals of their fathers or husbands. It was thought indecent for them to venture abroad, unless to accompany a funeral', to be present at a sacrifice, or to assist at some other religious solemnity. Even on these occasions they were generally accompanied by persons who watched their behaviour. The most innocent freedom was construed into a breach of modesty; and their reputation, once sullied by the smallest reproach, could never afterwards be retrieved.

If such severities had been exercised against them from that jealousy which often attends a violent love, and of which a certain degree is, perhaps, inseparable from a delicacy in the passion between the sexes, their condition, though not less miserable, would have been less contemptible. But this could not be the case; the Athenians were utter strangers to that refinement of sentiment with regard to the fair sex', which renders them the objects of a timid but respectful passion, and leads men to gratify their vanity at the expence of their freedom. Married or unmarried, the Athenian women were kept in equal restraint; no pains were taken to render them, at any one period of their lives, agreeable members of society; and their education was either entirely neglected, or confined, at least, to such objects as, instead of elevating and enlarging the mind, tended only to humble and to debase it. The uncommon rigour with which they were confined, was not therefore with a view to

' Lyfias against Diogeiton.

' Lyfias, p. 420.

' Lyfias, p. 435.

promote

promote their own advantage, but only to render them better qualified for those services which the Athenians required them to perform.

Though neither fitted for appearing with honour in society, nor for keeping company with their husbands, they were thought capable of superintending their domestic œconomy, of acting as stewards in the family, and thus relieving the men from a multiplicity of little cares, which they considered as unworthy of their attention and unsuitable to their dignity. The whole burden of such necessary, but humble concerns, being imposed on the women, their early treatment and first instructions were adapted to that lowly rank beyond which they could never afterwards aspire. Nothing was allowed to divert their minds from those servile occupations in which it was intended that their whole lives should be spent; no liberal idea was presented to their imagination, that might raise them above the mechanical and vulgar arts, in which they were ever destined to labour; above all, no liberty of thought or fancy was permitted them; the smallest familiarity with strangers was deemed a dangerous offence, and any attachment beyond their own family, a heinous crime. When they were fit for the state of wedlock, which, in the climate of Greece, happened long before their reason and understanding had arrived at maturity, they were given in marriage by their relations, without being consulted on the subject; and by entering into this new situation, they only exchanged the severe guardianship of a father for the absolute government of a husband. As the Athenians seldom married but from motives of conveniency, and at a more advanced period of life than is ordinary in other

A DISCOURSE UPON THE

countries^u, their good-will and affection could only be excited by the birth of an heir, or gradually acquired by a careful œconomy and constant circumspection^x. Even the laws of Athens favoured this unjust treatment of women, so inconsistent with all the rules of modern gallantry; and without attending to the condition of the fair sex in that republic, it is impossible to understand the spirit of the laws which are quoted in the following orations.

The spirit of
the Athenian
laws relative
to women.

I need not mention that, by the Athenian law, the son when of age, became tutor to his mother; but what can appear more extraordinary than that a rape committed against a married woman should be punished with less rigour than the crime of voluntary adultery? Whether we conceive the principles of criminal law to be founded on the resentment of the sufferer, or on the general interest of the state, it seems equitable that, as the guilt of the ravisher is undoubtedly more enormous, so should his punishment be proportionably more severe. He, however, by the laws of Athens, could be punished by death only when caught in the fact: Otherwise he was barely fined in a small sum of money. But the man, who, without violence, had seduced the affections of a married woman, was in every case to be punished capitally. “And, surely,” says Lyfias^y, “the decision of the laws is well founded. For the seducer has *got into his power the whole fortune of his neighbour*, and rendered him uncertain as to the legitimacy of his children.” Nothing can mark more strongly the excessive abasement of women than such a law. The securing of the husband’s effects is reckoned a matter of greater importance, than the defending of the wife’s person from outrage, and the protecting of her character from infamy.

^u Aristoph. *Lyfistrat.*

^x Lyfias, p. 420.

^y Lyfias, p. 426.

Socrates

Socrates is introduced in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*[†], conversing with Ischomachus, an Athenian citizen, who, by his good sense and great worth, had obtained universal esteem. The philosopher desires to know, how he had acquired the favourable opinion of a people by no means famous for viewing one another's actions in the most advantageous light. Ischomachus endeavours to satisfy him, by explaining in what manner he managed his family. His wife, he observes, is an excellent œconomist or housewife; and little thanks to herself; for he had taken care to form her to so useful an office. She was married before fifteen years of age; and the chief attention bestowed on her before that period, had consisted in allowing her to see as little, to hear as little, and to ask as few questions as possible. What she knew, therefore, was next to nothing. He began to instruct her, by saying, that it was the least part of his design in marrying her to have a bed-fellow; because this might easily be obtained with far less trouble and formality. His main object was to have a person, in whose discretion he could confide, who would take proper care of his servants and household, and lay out his money usefully and sparingly. One day he observed her face painted, and that she wore high heeled shoes to make her appear taller. He chid her with severity for these impertinent follies. "Could she imagine to pass such silly deceits on a man who was well acquainted with her, and saw her daily. If she wished to have a better complexion, and to strengthen her constitution, why not weave at her loom, standing upright? Why not employ herself in baking and other exercises, which would give her such a natural bloom as the most exquisite paint could never imitate?" Yet

The duties
required of
them.

[†] Lib. v. De administr. domestic.

A DISCOURSE UPON THE

Ischomachus who directed his wife to these gentle occupations, had been at different times trierarch, had been appointed to execute several other of the most expensive offices in the state, and was reckoned exceedingly rich^a. By such ungenerous treatment were the most amiable part of the human species degraded, among a people in many respects the most improved of all antiquity. They were excluded from those convivial entertainments, and that social intercourse which nature had fitted them to adorn. Instead of leading the taste and directing the sentiments of men, their own value was estimated, like that of the most indifferent objects, only by the profit which they brought. Their chief virtue was reserve, and their point of honour, œconomy.

The different
classes of wo-
men in
Greece.
Character,
virtues and
vices.

The manners of the fair sex were such as naturally resulted from their condition. The prude and coquette, with all the intermediate shades of female character, were in a great measure unknown. Women might be distinguished into two classes, the characters of which were directly opposite. While the behaviour of the virtuous was carried to an excess of severity, the manners of the immodest were extravagantly licentious. The beautiful Phrynè blushed not to bathe in the sea, in the presence of the whole citizens of Eleusis; and as she returned, pressed her flowing hair with her delicate hands^a. Both the dress and the behaviour of the women of her profession, as described by Athenæus^b, were shamefully voluptuous and indecent; which must generally happen, wherever the greater part of the sex are compelled to observe a rigid austerity of manners. Nor did this treatment produce even on them the effect intended by it. We learn

^a Lyfias, p. 409.

^b Athenæus, lib. i.

^c Idem, lib. xiii.

from

from the following orations, that vice, though timid and concealed, was not on that account the less powerful^c. The flame, the more it was confined, glowed with the intenser heat; and the odious crimes of theft, poisoning, and parricide, which are commonly ascribed to the Athenian women^d, would not have been more characteristic of them, than of the women of any other country, had not their natural passions been repressed by an ill-judged and immoderate severity.

Thus have I endeavoured to explain the institutions and customs which prevailed in the Grecian states, as well as the condition and character of the different classes which composed them. I have not attempted to embellish the portrait, much less to delineate an ideal beauty. If there is any merit in the picture, it consists in its resemblance to the original.

But it would be injustice to these celebrated republics to omit an observation which is made by many Greek writers, and which is founded on undoubted truth. When the Athenian^e orators had excited the resentment of their audience, by loading them with a multitude of reproaches, they often soothed their angry passions by talking of the glory of their ancestors. Athens, they asserted, was distinguished above all cities in the world for producing men of an elevated and refined genius, fitted to excel alike in the career of arts and arms, and to command respect by the noblest virtues of the mind. This, indeed, is the peculiar glory of all Greece, that, amidst the turbulence of democratical faction, the general corruption, and ferocious barbarity of the times, many characters were formed which do honour to human nature. For the most improved state of society is not always most favourable to the highest perfection of the indi-

Great men in
Greece.

Their man-
ners and cha-
racter.

^c Lyfias in defence of Euphiletus. ^d Aristoph. *Lyfistrat.* ^e *Iſoc.* and *Demosth.* *passim.*

vidual: where the fermentation is most violent, the purest spirits are sometimes extracted; and the boldest and most creative geniuses have flourished in the rudest and least cultivated ages. These extraordinary men were not carried along by the torrent of popular opinion; they were sensible of the vices and follies of their countrymen; they perceived the source of their errors and foretold their effects. On every subject they thought differently from the vulgar, and particularly on religion, government, and manners.

Their opinions,

on religion,

Various causes concurred in rendering the Greeks the most superstitious of nations. They had received the principal articles of their faith, and the most important ceremonies of their worship, from a distant people, with whose language and manners they were totally unacquainted. As to the gods of his country, even Herodotus, who was an inquisitive man and a traveller, acknowledges himself ignorant: "when they came into the world, how long they continued in it, or what sort of beings they were^a." An immense field was left for conjecture; and amidst the wars and dangers in which the Grecian republics were continually involved, men sought to avert the calamities which threatened them by the most absurd and superstitious ceremonies^b. Hence nothing can be more ridiculous, than the character and transactions of the gods, as described in the popular writings of Aristophanes. But how different is Socrates's profession of faith, as recorded in Xenophon, "That there is a God who formed the universe, and who preserves this great work, the parts of which are perfect in beauty and goodness. That he maintains them in eternal vigour; and though invisible himself, is visible in the wonders which

^a Herod. lib. ii. c. 50.

^b Xenoph. de repub. Laced. Isoc. in Areop. &c.

he has done. Let us not refuse, then, to believe the existence of what we cannot behold; but supply the imperfections of our eyes by the light of the understanding. Above all, let us not refuse that worship to the Divinity which his bountiful goodness demands. This worship consists in pleasing him, and in doing his will¹.” Isocrates insinuates the same opinion in different parts of his works. “Observe,” says he to Nicocles, “the religion of your ancestors; but be persuaded that the justice and uprightness of your heart is the most agreeable offering to the Gods. The immortals delight in virtue more than in sacrifice².” In another discourse, he declaims with great warmth against the odious pictures of the Gods, which had been drawn by the poets. “They load these ethereal beings,” says he, “with such reproaches, as only belong to the basest criminals. Theft, adultery, assassination, incest—these are the crimes which they impute to the Gods. Children are devoured by their parents. Parents are murdered by their children. The Gods are described in chains, or in torture; expelled from heaven, and wandering miserably on the earth. Let us not imitate such absurd extravagance, but be persuaded that, as it is a crime to relate these monstrous fictions, so it is one no less heinous to believe them³.” The opinions of Isocrates are as different from those of his countrymen on morals and politics, as in matters of religion. As to politics, I appeal to the following orations; and his whole writings breathe such a spirit of gentleness and humanity, as is far from being characteristic of the nation, and as I have not been able to discover in any other Greek author.

on govern-
ment and
morals.

But it is not the object of this discourse to explain the sentiments of philosophers, or to describe the characters of

¹ Xenoph. memorab. l. iv.

² Isoc. ad Nicocl.

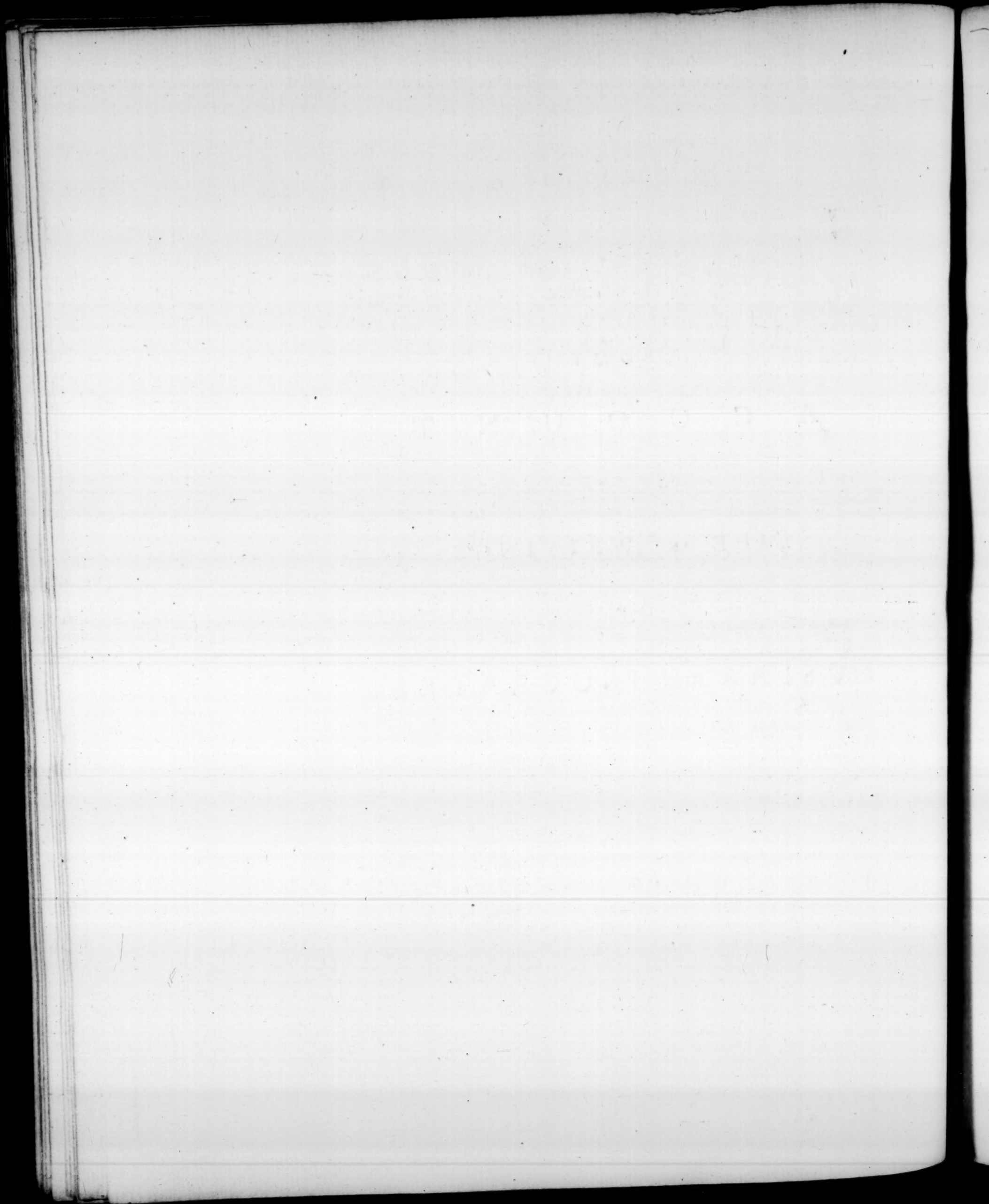
³ Isoc. in Busirid.

great men. I have endeavoured to exhibit the general manners of the people; and, from the whole, it seems reasonable to conclude, that, if these republicans excelled the modern inhabitants of Europe in mental vigour and abilities, they fell short of them in every indulgent and amiable virtue; if they surpassed all mankind in ardour, eloquence, and the talents which are required on extraordinary occasions, they were little acquainted with the agreeable improvements of ordinary intercourse and conversation; and if they attained unrivalled perfection in the refined arts, they were extremely deficient in those which contribute to the comfort and happiness of private life. Their best qualities were all of the splendid kind. Their behaviour on the great theatre of war and politics excites admiration. Their history exhibits a pompous spectacle to posterity. But it appears more fortunate to have been a spectator than an actor in such agitated and perplexing scenes; to have heard the storm roar at a distance, than to have been exposed to its violence. And with all their brilliant advantages and shining virtues, the comparison, by which Isocrates^m describes the Athenians, may be applied to the whole nation; "that they resembled those *coquettes*", with whom it may not be disagreeable to pass an idle hour, but with whom no man of sense would chuse to spend his life."

^m Ælian ap. Wolf. in I'oc. p. 704.

ⁿ *στραίγαις*.

SOME
A C C O U N T
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
LYSIAS and ISOCRATES.



S O M E
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
L I F E and W R I T I N G S of L Y S I A S and I S O C R A T E S.

P A R T I.

The Life and Writings of LYSIAS.

PLUTARCH^a gives a short account of the lives of these orators, and places them together, because they flourished in the same age. Lysias was born at Athens four hundred and fifty-nine years before Christ. His father Cephalus^b, by birth a Syracusan, was persuaded by his friend Pericles, then at the head of the Athenian republic, to quit his native country, and to fix his residence in Athens. Cephalus availed himself of the opportunities which he enjoyed in that city, of giving his son the best education; and Lysias, when only fifteen years of age, accompanied Herodotus and Thucydides into Italy, when the Athenians formed their settlement at Thurium^c. He continued thirty-two years^d in this colony,

Lysias's father settles in Athens.

The education of Lysias.

He goes to Thurium.

^a Plutarch's lives of the ten orators.

^c Dionysius Halicarnas. in vit. Lys.

^b Lysias against Eratosth.

^d Suidas in vit. Lys.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

His return to Athens.

the affairs of which were managed with such prudence, that it soon exhibited a lively picture of the mother-country. Towards the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, the fortune of Athens having begun to decline, Thurium, with other colonies, prepared for a revolt; and Lyfias, with such Athenians as remained attached to the interests of the parent state, were obliged to return home.

His employment here.

The continual misfortunes which, from this period, attended all the Athenian enterprises; the fatal issue of the war of Peloponnesus; and the usurpation of the thirty tyrants, afforded little opportunity to a man, who had totally addicted himself to the arts of peace, to display his abilities in the service of his country. While Lyfias continued at Thurium, he had cultivated the study of eloquence with uncommon assiduity under the best Sicilian masters. After he returned to Athens, his attention seems to have been principally directed to commerce and manufactures. He and his brother Polemarchus employed an hundred and twenty slaves in making shields; and they were considered as some of the richest persons of foreign extraction who resided in Athens. Their wealth exposed them to the injustice and cruelty of the thirty tyrants. Polemarchus was put to death; and Lyfias narrowly escaped sharing the same fate.

He and his brother are cruelly treated by the thirty tyrants.

His services towards their expulsion.

In all those orations, which have come down to us, Lyfias discovers the utmost aversion to that detestable tyranny; and never ceases to celebrate the merit of those patriots by whom it was subverted. He himself, indeed, acted a distinguished part in effecting this revolution. He hired no less than three hundred foldiers at his own expence, who joined the forces collected by Thasybulus, and assisted in re-establishing the democracy.

From

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF LYSIAS.

cxi

From this æra we are to consider him as an orator; for we have none of his discourses of an earlier date, and several of them were written twenty years afterwards*. He rarely appeared before the senate or assembly; but, having opened a school for teaching eloquence†, employed himself chiefly in writing *accusations* or *defences* at the desire of such persons as had occasion either to impeach the conduct of others, or to defend their own. Plutarch says, that in his time there were four hundred and seventy-five orations, which were said to be written by Lysias; of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus affirmed two hundred and thirty only to be genuine. We are likewise told, that he composed institutions of oratory, discourses on love, epistles, and panegyrics. But of all those writings, thirty-four only have come down to us; and of these, several are so mutilated and imperfect, as hardly to deserve translation. It is necessary, however, in order to render the present work complete, to give some account of them; and also to take notice of the opinion of the ancients with regard to the character of Lysias as a writer.

His profession after the re-establishment of the democracy.

His works.

The first oration, which we have not translated, is entitled, "A defence of Callias, accused of sacrilege." The accusers were his own slaves; and the discourse contains nothing remarkable, but a description of the hatred and malevolence which these commonly discovered against their master. "They were always," according to Lysias, "more disposed to procure their liberty by the destruction of their master, than to obtain it as a reward of their services." The 2d oration, not translated, is entitled, "an accusation against Andocides for impiety."—

Account of the oration, entitled a defence of Callias.

The accusation of Andocides for impiety.

* See Lysias against Theomnestus, &c.

† Cicero, ad Brut. 48.

During

During the Peloponnesian war, Andocides had been accused of mutilating the statues, and ridiculing the worship of the Gods. Being cast into prison, he informed, in order to escape death, against a number of his friends, who, he pretended, were accessory to his crimes. They were condemned to suffer a capital punishment, and Andocides was set at liberty. Having by these impious means obtained pardon of a crime no less impious, he embarked on shipboard, and left his country; "thus declaring," says Lyfias, "before all the Greeks, that he did not believe in the Gods. But the Divinity pursued him with vengeance. Wherever he landed, he was exposed to innumerable calamities, and suffered such uneasiness and anxiety of mind, that death seemed to be denied him as a favour. But the Gods, having first allowed him to go through the whole circle of human evils, have now brought him before you, that he may be condemned to suffer this last calamity. He has ventured to return to Athens, to sacrifice at the altars, to assist at those sacred mysteries which he so impiously violated. The amnesty proposed by Thrasylulus, and the agreement entered into between the citizens to forgive all past offences, apply not to him. These agreements were framed in order to obliterate the injuries committed by the opposite factions, not to screen the private guilt of individuals. The violence of the different parties is pardoned and forgotten; but particular crimes must be brought to light, and punished." This oration deserves particular attention, because it assigns a reason why the amnesty proposed by Thrasylulus prevented not those prosecutions and impeachments, by which the Athenians harassed one another after they had re-established the democracy; and which, though equally neglected by the antiquary and historian, were one principal cause of

The amnesty
proposed by
Thrasylulus
not observed.

of the decline and fall of the Athenian republic.—The third oration is written for an Athenian who had been exceedingly ill-treated by his acquaintance, and is intended as an answer to their reproaches. It proves how much the Athenians were given to detraction and resentment, while, at the same time, they were exceedingly warm in their friendships. The speaker asks his friends, when they desired any favour from him, which he denied them; when he refused to appear as a witness in their behalf, or to defend their safety, even at the risk of his own. Notwithstanding all his services, they railed against him with the utmost licentiousness. Their reproaches, he observes, were so unjust and so shameful, that they must soon banish every person from their society; till the last man left would be obliged to speak ill of himself.—The 4th is a defence written for a soldier, which contains nothing remarkable.—The 5th is a second oration against Theomnestus, and merely an abridgment of the first, which is translated.—The 6th is a second oration against Alcibiades, on the same subject with the first, which is translated. It is a small mutilated fragment; in which we find a striking proof of the irregularity of the proceedings before the Athenian tribunals. The orator entreats his judges not to be awed by the military officers who were present, nor to give a decision expressly against law. He concludes by declaring, that he undertook to prosecute Alcibiades, in order to please his friend Anchistratides, and to gratify his own private resentment.—The 7th is an oration against confiscating the estate which had belonged to Eucrates, brother of Nicias; for an account of which, see page 231.—The 8th, against engrossers of corn.—The 9th, against Pancleon, to prove that he was not born in Platæa.—The 10th, in defence of a poor man accused before the senate. This

Account of
the oration
against the re-
proaches of
my friends.

Of the 2d
oration
against Alci-
biades.

Defence of a
poor man
accused be-
fore the se-
nate.

man, who had received no patrimony from his father, who had a mother to maintain, and who, by his infirmities of body, was rendered incapable of exercising any mechanical profession by which he might acquire a livelihood, received from the exchequer a pension of an obolus, or penny, a day, by authority of the senate. The accuser insisted, that this small pension ought to be withdrawn; first, because the defendant's bodily infirmities were rather pretended than real; secondly, because he kept company with men of rank and fortune; and, thirdly, because he was so far from being poor, that he commonly rode on horseback. The defendant replies, that the judges ought to give more credit to their own eyes, than to the malicious aspersions of the accuser who traduced him; because, notwithstanding his weakness and poverty, he was a better citizen than himself. As to the company he keeps, that, he says, does not depend on him. "It is impossible for him to shut his door against those who chuse to visit him; it is well known, that the first people in Athens frequent the shops of the meanest mechanics. Which of you, senators, does not often walk into the shop of a perfumer, of a barber, or of a shoemaker; and especially when they happen to live in the neighbourhood of the *Forum*? If I ride on horseback, which the accuser finds fault with, it is rather a proof of my poverty: for, were I able to afford it, I should keep a mule of my own, instead of borrowing other people's horses. I am surprised he does not also accuse me of extravagance, for making use of two sticks to walk with, while most people are satisfied with one. But surely his whole discourse is rather meant as a piece of raillery, than as a serious accusation. Why should I be deprived, Senators, after old age and infirmities have come upon me, of the allowance given me, when younger?

If I were such a man as my adversary describes, I might aspire at the first offices of state. But if that would appear madness, considering my present circumstances, why take away the only consolation which the public allows to those who can entertain no hopes of obtaining more conspicuous honours?"

The 11th oration is intitled, *against Epicrates, and his companions in the Embassy*. It tends still farther to confirm what is intimated in several discourses both of Lysias and Isocrates:—

1st, That the managers of the public revenue at Athens seldom lost an opportunity of embezzling it. 2dly, That persons entrusted with important commissions by that republic were often bribed by its enemies to betray the interests of their country. 3dly, The source from which these inconveniencies flowed, the irregular administration of justice. Not only the particular friends and relations of a criminal, but almost all those of the same ward or district, frequently came into court, in order to intercede with the judges for his deliverance.—The 12th is an accusation against Ergocles for extorting money from the allies of Athens. Ergocles had always professed a violent attachment to the liberty of his country. He even possessed the merit of assisting Thrasybulus in re-establishing the democracy. When this revolution was effected, he and the other leaders of the republican party were entrusted with the whole administration of affairs at home and abroad. They abused their power; levied contributions on free cities; harassed the citizens; and, when complaints were brought against them to the Athenian assembly, and their fellow-citizens began to talk of calling them to account for their injustice, Ergocles said to his friend Thrasybulus, that the Athenians had taken up their old trade of informing and prosecuting. He therefore advised him to provide for his own safety, by retaining in his possession the galleys

Oration against Epicrates.

Oration against Ergocles;

entrusted to him; by means of which he might render himself master of Byzantium, and then marry the daughter of Seuthes, a barbarous prince, who lived in that neighbourhood. Lyfias observes, that Thrasylbulus fortunately died at this very juncture, which prevented him from complying with an advice that must have brought indelible disgrace on his memory. He insists, however, that Ergocles should be condemned to punishment, although he had amassed such immense wealth by his injustice and rapacity, that he would attempt to bribe both his accusers and judges, and even the magistrates who presided in the senate.

against Philo-
crates;

The 13th is an accusation of Philocrates, a particular friend of Ergocles, who, as we are informed in this discourse, was subjected to a capital punishment, in consequence of Lyfias's prosecution. By his death, Philocrates is said to have got possession of no less than thirty talents, of which Lyfias demands restitution to the injured. He affirms that Philocrates had given three talents to the principal speakers in the assembly, in order to engage them to undertake the defence of Ergocles. But these, observing the audience already determined by Lyfias's pleading to destroy him, ventured not to speak in his favour. They retained the money, however, which Philocrates had distributed among them. He, as they had been of no service to his friend, insisted on their making restitution of the three talents, and even threatened them with a prosecution, unless they complied with his demand.—*Prob. mores!*

against Ni-
chomachus.

The 14th is an oration against Nichomachus, who being appointed to transcribe the laws of Solon, had corrupted them for bribes. This occasioned the utmost confusion, and the litigant parties often came into court with contradictory laws.—The 15th,
and

and last, is a small fragment of Lysias's oration which was pronounced at Olympia. I have explained elsewhere^b the nature of the Olympic discourses. In that before us, Lysias celebrates the memory of Hercules, who had instituted the Olympic games, with a view to promote union and friendship among the Greeks. He exhorts them to put an end to their domestic dissensions, and, as we learn from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (for that part of the oration is now lost), to make war against Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and to deliver that island from slavery.

The oration
spoken at O-
lympia.

It is not my intention to swell this article by quotations from ancient authors, in praise of the eloquence of Lysias. Those who are acquainted with the classical writings of Greece and Rome, know the general opinion of antiquity on this subject. Ciceroⁱ speaks of him as almost a perfect orator. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that he brought to perfection that graceful simplicity in writing, which is equally agreeable and persuasive^k. Quintilian and Longinus propose him as a model of the purest Attic taste. And Plutarch honours him with a panegyric more valuable than any that mere criticism can bestow, when he tells us, that of all the orations which Lysias composed, two only failed in producing the effect intended by them. He died at Athens, aged eighty-three.

Opinion of
ancient critics
concerning
the eloquence
of Lysias.

His death.

^b See Introduction to the Panegyric of Athens by Isocrates.

ⁱ In Brut. 17.

^k Dionysius concerning the Eloquence of Demosthenes.

LIFE AND DEATH OF CHRIST

The life and death of Christ is a story of love and sacrifice. It is a story that has inspired millions of people throughout the centuries. Christ came to earth to save us from sin and to bring us into the kingdom of God. His death on the cross was a sacrifice for all of us. His resurrection was a promise of new life for all who believe in him. The life and death of Christ is a story that is as relevant today as it was in the first century. It is a story that gives us hope and meaning in a world that is full of pain and suffering. It is a story that reminds us of the power of love and the possibility of redemption. The life and death of Christ is a story that is worth knowing and living.

P A R T II.

Some Account of the Life and Writings of ISOCRATES.

ISOCRATES was born in Erechthea, a village of Attica, His birth,
about four hundred and thirty-six years before Christ. The
opulence of his father Theodorus, enabling him to give his family,
son the best education¹, and Isocrates being destined for the
management of public affairs, he was sent to hear the principal destination,
teachers of eloquence in Greece. In that country the rhetorical and studies.
art was not confined to the choice and arrangement of
words, or to the vain ornaments of oratory, but was supposed
to include the principles of such practical knowledge as is
necessary in conducting the affairs of nations. The title of
Orator was synonymous with that of Statesman; and to men
of this character Isocrates had recourse for instruction. Among His masters.
his masters were Gorgias of Leontium, Tisias of Syracuse, and
Theramenes of Athens; all of whom, though employed in
important negotiations, and invested with high offices in their
several republics, yet, in the midst of civil honours, disdained
not to cultivate and diffuse the knowledge of that ingenious
art by which they had attained them.

Two circumstances, however, prevented Isocrates from fol- His natural
lowing the same career which they had pursued. These were defects.
the weakness of his voice, and a certain constitutional timidity,
either of which was an invincible obstacle to his appearing with

¹ Plut. in Vit. Isoc.

advantage

His first employment.

advantage before the Athenian assembly^m. These natural defects were felt by him the more sensibly, because he had been deprived of his patrimony during the Peloponnesian war; which obliged him to the mercenary task of writing for hire in defence of such persons as were accused in the courts of justice; an employment neither suitable to his dispositions nor to his views, and which drew on him so many enemies, that he soon thought proper to abandon it.

The profession which he followed afterwards.

The profession which he afterwards embraced was attended with more success. He sailed to the isle of Chios, and there opened a school of rhetoric, which, after his reputation for skill in that art was established, he transferred to Athens. While he exercised the profession of teaching eloquence to others, he was assiduous in improving his own talents for composition. The deficiencies of voice and courage, which prevented him from making a figure in the Athenian assembly, left him full leisure for cultivating such subjects of morals and politics as were most agreeable to his taste, and best calculated for giving him an opportunity of diffusing his literary fame, the great point at which he aimed. As he kept aloof from those continual altercations and disputes which agitated his countrymen, he viewed the affairs of Athens, and of all Greece, through a purer medium than most writers of that age; and while his abilities enabled him to perceive the measures most conducive to the public good, his impartiality induced him to propose them.

His chief ambition.

His abilities,

He early distinguished himself by discourses addressed to private personsⁿ, which were written with an elegance till then unknown in the Greek tongue, and which breathed the purest

^m Isoc. in Panath.

ⁿ Isoc. ad Demon.

maxims of wisdom and virtue. But the first performance which placed him in that conspicuous point of view in which he was regarded by his contemporaries, was his Panegyric of Athens^o. From the moment that this performance, which so much excelled all others upon the same subject, was known to belong to Isocrates, his friendship was courted, not only by the first men in the Grecian republics, but by many foreign princes, who affected to distinguish themselves by a taste for learning and philosophy. His school was frequented by the flower of the Athenian youth; and he had the honour of instructing many of those whose writings reflect lustre on the most brilliant period of that republic^p. Demosthenes, among many other orators, was his scholar, and always acknowledged him as his superior in the art of composition^q.

and reputa-
tion.

His scholars.

It would be improper to enter into a minute detail of the anecdotes relative to the private life of Isocrates. They are related by authors who lived at the distance of many centuries from the person whom they describe, and they are little connected with the object of this work. I shall therefore follow the same plan which I laid down in writing the life of Lyfias, and proceed to give some account of those discourses of Isocrates which I thought it unnecessary to translate, and of the opinion of the ancients with regard to his character as a writer.

In the time of Plutarch, there were no less than sixty orations extant which were commonly ascribed to Isocrates. Of these, twenty-one only remain. Fortunately, we are deprived of none of those which Isocrates himself^r chiefly valued, and

His works.

^o See p. 1.^q Philott. in vit. Isoc.^p Plutarch. et Dionys. Halicarn. in vit. Isoc.^r Isoc. de Antidof.

of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus has left us such high encomiums.

Defence a-
gainst Calli-
machus.

His other
pleadings.

The first orations published by Isocrates were his pleadings. Of these, the first in the order of time is his Defence against an accusation of Callimachus, who had commenced a suit for reparation of losses sustained during the usurpation of the thirty tyrants.—The second is called *the Æginitic discourse*, because it was spoken in the island of Ægina. It relates to the confirmation of a testament.—The 3d is written against Lochites, who is accused of an *assault*.—The 4th is a pleading in behalf of Nicias, who had deposited a sum of money with his cousin Euthynus. The latter asserted, that he had received no more than two-thirds of the sum which Nicias pretended to have left with him. As there were no witnesses to prove the deposit, Isocrates endeavours to make it appear, by circumstantial evidence, that Euthynus was in possession of the whole.—The 5th is a short discourse against the Sophists. Though not intended to be spoken before a court of justice, it has more affinity with the pleadings of Isocrates, than with any other class of his writings. It lays open the artifices and deceit of the pretended teachers of wisdom and virtue, who flourished in that age. Isocrates inveighs against their vanity, presumption, and avarice, and offers his own ideas concerning education, in opposition to those which they endeavoured to impose on the public.

Account of
the discourse
intituled, On
the Exchange
of Estates.

In the 6th pleading, which is intitled, *On the Exchange of Estates*, Isocrates again touches on the same subject. The richer citizens of Athens were obliged to furnish the expence of the gallies, or ships of war, employed in the public service. Those who had been appointed to bear this burden might obtain

obtain exemption from it by naming others more opulent than themselves, provided they were ready to exchange their fortunes with the persons thus named by them. Isocrates, who had amassed great riches by his school, was summoned more than once to undertake this expensive task. The first time was at the nomination of one Megacles; when Isocrates himself happening to be indisposed, his adopted son Aphareus defended him with such success, that the Athenians paid no regard to the pretensions of his adversary. But he was again called to execute the same office at the suit of Lyfimachus; and although, in order to excuse himself from it, he wrote a discourse which is now lost, he was obliged, on this occasion, to submit. His intention then, in the pleading concerning the exchange of estates, is not to defend himself against Lyfimachus. He explains the real design of it in the following preface:

“ If the discourse now offered to your attention were of the same kind with those which I had before spoken, and if I had now no other end in view but victory in the *Forum*, or applause in the public assembly, I should proceed directly to my subject, without apology or preface. But on account of the novelty of my present design, it is necessary to explain the motives which have engaged me to undertake it. If these were not fully set forth, you might accuse me of impertinence or folly.

Translation of
the preface of
that discourse.

“ My life has long been a subject of raillery and detraction among obscure invidious sophists, and I have long despised all the impotent efforts of their malice. While they represented me as a wrangling declaimer in the courts of justice, I thought them no more deserving of an answer, than if they had called

Phidias, who formed the statue of Minerva, a plaisterer of puppets; or had insulted Zeuxis and Parrhasius, artists of a similar profession, and of the most conspicuous merit, with being mere daubers of sign-posts. For, why should I have regarded their senseless reproaches? It was evident to all mankind, that I had composed and spoken, not concerning private contracts, or judicial decisions, but upon subjects of such importance and dignity, as none have ever ventured to handle, except those whom I myself have instructed, or such as have imitated their example. Having arrived at old age in the culture of talents not less beneficial than splendid, I expected, that, on account of the dignity of my profession, the grandeur of my views, and the inoffensive simplicity of my whole life, equally remote from the meanness of avarice, and the turbulence of ambition, I had for ever secured the esteem, not only of the more sagacious and discerning, but even of the meaner class of my fellow-citizens.

“ But this expectation, though founded on the most reasonable principles, was at once blasted. Placed on the verge of life, a suit was commenced to compel me, either to become Trierarch, or to exchange estates with him whom the laws had appointed to that office. I then had an opportunity of discovering the real sentiments of my countrymen. Many were altogether unacquainted with the nature of that learning which I professed, and foolishly listened to the grossest misrepresentations of it: others, though neither ignorant of my studies nor of my views, yet, through envy, co-operated with the Sophists, and triumphed in their calumny and falsehood. In a word, though my adversary said nothing to display the
merits

merits of his cause, but exaggerated the extent of my wealth, and the number of my disciples, I was compelled to undertake an expensive task, which I executed in a manner not extravagant indeed, but which proved me superior to avarice.

“ This decision having made me sensible, in how false and how unfavourable a light my character appeared to those whose approbation it had been my study to deserve, I set myself to devise some method by which I might expect to undeceive them. I wished to inform, not only the present age, but all posterity, of my habitual manner of life, and of those doctrines and principles which I maintain; for I thought it a duty to myself, not, through present negligence, to leave my future reputation at the mercy of invidious rivals. No contrivance appeared so proper for answering these different ends, as the writing a discourse, which might exhibit a real picture of my mind and actions. By this I hoped to be more honourably known, than by any monument in brass, or by the most precious dedications.

“ It still remained to be decided, under what form this discourse ought to appear. If I expressly undertook my own panegyric, it would be difficult to include in it all that it was necessary to comprehend; nor could I insist long on so delicate a subject, without incurring censure, and even exciting disgust. But if I supposed myself traduced and endangered, and that the accuser now laid the same things to my charge, which in the trial about the change of estates were falsely urged against me, I might have an opportunity, under the appearance of defence, of describing my character and actions. With this view I composed the following discourse in the eighty-second year of my age; which circumstance, though

though my present performance should appear more deficient in force and spirit than those I have before published, gives it some title to your indulgence.

“ And indeed, from the nature of the subject, the execution of it was by no means easy. I was obliged frequently to adopt the reasonings of the bar, at other times to speak the language of philosophy, to insert from my former discourses what seemed necessary for the occasion, and to reduce all these into that harmony and order which might render each part consistent with the whole. At my advanced age, this was a laborious task. I persisted, however, in executing it with fidelity and truth. The reader must decide of the rest. I shall only advise him, that, considering it as of a mixed kind, and including a variety of subjects, he be not anxious to run it over hastily, but dwell upon and thoroughly analyse what is said upon each topic; and by this means he will be enabled to determine, whether it be worthy of my former fame. I now proceed to the defence itself, which is intended for the information of those who are unacquainted with my manner of life,” &c.

The 7th and last pleading, which is not translated, is intitled, *The Trapezitick*, from the Greek word which signifies a *Table*, or *Counter*. It is written for a young man who had deposited money with a banker, which he denied to have received. As there is mention in this discourse of Satyrus king of Heraclea, who succeeded his brother Clearchus three hundred and fifty-three years before Christ, which agrees to the eighty-third year of Isocrates's age, it is evident from this circumstance, that our author, though he early left off the writing of judicial pleadings as a profession, yet occasionally employed his eloquence in the assistance of a friend.

The

The moral orations follow next in order to the pleadings. They are three. The first is addressed to Demonicus, the cousin-german of Alcibiades, and who, as well as the rest of the relations of that singular man, had been involved in his misfortunes. It contains many excellent maxims for the prudent conduct of life, and appears to have been written soon after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.—The 2d is addressed to Nicocles, who succeeded his father Evagoras in the throne of Salamis. Like the discourse immediately preceding it, this oration consists of a number of detached maxims, which, however, relate not to the affairs of private life, but to the arts of government. Isocrates, in speaking of this performance*, says, that he addresses Nicocles with that freedom and dignity which it becomes a citizen of Athens to discover in speaking to a foreign prince. Instead of paying a slavish deference to his power and riches, he puts him in mind of his duty to his subjects, and endeavours to prove, that it is his misfortune to be a king, unless he is qualified to fulfil the important obligations of that elevated station.—In the 3d, Isocrates speaks in the person of the young king, who having learned the duties of a prince towards his subjects, points out in his turn the obligations which these owe to their sovereign. But, in order to give the greater weight to his observations on this subject, he endeavours to prove, that the form of government established in Salamis, is the best that could possibly be devised for the happiness of mankind. The greatest part of the discourse is employed on this topic; so that the oration might with propriety be intitled, *The Panegyric of Monarchy*. That system of government, he says, is more equitable than the republican; because,

Account of
his moral dis-
courses.

* Isoc. de Antidof.

as it admits a distinction of ranks, individuals may be rewarded and advanced in proportion to their merit. It is also more gentle and moderate, because it is easier to please one master, than to gratify the capricious humours of the multitude. The author, keeping in view the tumultuary republics of his own country, inveighs with just severity against the inexperience, ignorance, and jealousy of popular magistrates. While men of virtuous and amiable characters are promoted to the highest offices in monarchies, incendiaries, who inflame and mislead, enjoy the first honours of republics. "Nor," continues he, "is it surprising that such persons should always pay more regard to their private interest, than to the good of the community.—As to war, monarchies possess the advantage, both of secrecy in deliberation, and promptitude in execution; republics, neither." This oration, as well as that addressed to the same prince, seems to have been written soon after the death of Evagoras, to whom Nicocles succeeded in the throne of Salamis, three hundred and seventy-four years before Christ, which coincides with the sixty-second year of Isocrates's age.

Account of
his Panegy-
rics.

The orations next in order are his panegyrics. The first of these, which is not translated in this work, is his discourse in praise of Helen. Isocrates seems to have composed it, in order to shew how a subject of this kind ought to be handled. Many sophists of those times, and particularly Gorgias of Leontium, had chosen the same theme; but, as Isocrates insinuates, they had confounded the rules of apology with those of panegyric, not considering, that the former is a defence of the culpable, while the latter is the reward of the virtuous. He proceeds, therefore, to explain, by an example, his own ideas of panegyrical composition. The circumstance which he chiefly insists on,

is

is the beauty of Helen. "Nothing but this," says he, "could have set the two worlds at variance. The Greeks and Barbarians had already many grounds of complaint against each other; still, however, they stifled their animosity; but the beauty of Helen made their resentment break out into vengeance. For her sake they engaged in the greatest war ever carried on, whether we consider the time during which it lasted, or the number of forces employed in the field. The barbarians, rather than abandon her, saw without emotion their territories laid waste, and their cities devoured by flames. The Greeks, determined to possess her, forsook their native country, which had ever been so dear to them, and grew old in the land of their enemies. The singular beauty of Helen justified the obstinacy of both parties. For, that beauty is superior to every other quality, may be proved by the general sentiments of mankind. We esteem other properties in proportion to their utility; they receive a value in our minds only from this secondary consideration. But we are born with a love for beauty, and, antecedent to reflection, are carried towards it by a natural impulse. Those who are distinguished by their power, wisdom, or riches, often excite the hatred and envy of others; they procure the favour and esteem only of the few whom they have obliged by their good offices. But, at first sight, we love and admire the beautiful; and their empire, like that of the Gods, it is ever in vain to dispute."

The next oration is not so properly a panegyric of Busiris, Of Busiris. as a criticism of the performances which had been written on that subject. Busiris was commonly considered by the Greeks, as a tyrannical king of Egypt, who had rendered himself infamous by his cruelty. Among other particulars which are
r related

related of him, it is said, that he caused all strangers who arrived in his dominions, to be put to death. Yet to many paradoxical writers, who flourished in the age of Isocrates, Busiris seemed a proper object of panegyric¹. The sophist Polycrates, in particular, sought to distinguish himself as much by his praises of this prince, as by his invectives against Socrates. The same person had blackened many characters of great worth², and heaped praises on others who were justly condemned to perpetual infamy. This capricious taste of Polycrates would have only excited contempt, had he not endeavoured, in his puerile compositions, to confound all ideas of right and wrong, of virtue and vice. Isocrates was seized with just indignation against this part of his plan; and, as it had always been his object in his own writings, to inculcate the purest morality, he thought himself bound in duty, to declare against an author who so shamefully betrayed its cause. In order, therefore, to gain a complete victory over a sophist, who chiefly valued himself on his ingenuity; he shews, that it was possible to make a panegyric on Busiris, without forsaking the path of truth or of virtue. As the history of this Egyptian king was involved in the obscurity of ancient tradition³, Isocrates casts an air of fable on the cruelties that are related of him; and supposes, what it was impossible to disprove, that he might be the author of many of those wise laws and institutions, which distinguished the ancient Egyptians. He concludes, by exhorting Polycrates, "to give over writing discourses which can never be attended with advantage—If any of your friends, Poly-

¹ Virgil seems to allude to these absurd panegyrics.

Quis illaudati nescit Busiridis aras. Virg. Georg. lib. III.

² Athen. Deip. lib. vii.

³ Vide Usher. Chron. ant. Christ, 1471.

crates! should so far forget himself, as to imitate those whom you so highly extol, you would reckon him the weakest of men.—It is time for you, therefore, either to abandon entirely such fruitless subjects, or at least to treat them in a manner less prejudicial to your own character, and to the honour of your profession.”—This oration as well as the panegyric of Helen, appears to have been written about the forty-fifth year of Isocrates’s age.

The next is the funeral oration, or panegyric, of Evagoras, king of Salamis, whom I have already mentioned. Of Evagoras. Isocrates gives a particular account of the extraction and character of this prince, as well as of the means by which he mounted the throne, and of the virtues which he displayed in his administration. He describes the miserable and unsettled state of the isle of Cyprus, before the reign of Evagoras, and the happy change which this wise and virtuous man effected on the manners of a whole people. He introduced arts, learning, and politeness; and his government was so gentle and moderate, that many of the greatest men in Greece abandoned their native country to reside in his dominions. This oration is the more valuable, as it affords the only authentic and regular account of the ancient history of Cyprus, which is related in a manner equally perplexed and imperfect by all other authors. It was composed about the sixty-second year of Isocrates’s age.

The Panathenæan discourse comes next in order. It is so called, because it was written with a design of being pronounced at the festival named Panathenæa, instituted by Theseus^v, after he had assembled the Athenians, who lived dispersed in different villiages, into one city.—The subject of this oration is the same with that of the panegyric of A-

The Panathenæan discourse.

^v Plut. in Theseo.

thens.—It is also treated nearly in the same manner.—The principal difference between them is, that the discourse which I have translated, contains not only the principal transactions of the Athenians, but other matters of great importance to the Greeks in general. Cicero tells us^z, that Isocrates wrote the Panathenæan discourse, at the age of ninety-four. But Isocrates lets us know in the discourse itself, that, though he began to compose it at that age, he was interrupted by an indisposition, which rendered him incapable of pursuing his studies for near three years. At the end of that time, he was engaged by the solicitations of his friends to put the last hand to his discourse, which he appears to have finished at the age of ninety-seven, and about two years before his death.

The oration
addressed to
Philip of Ma-
cedon.

The oration addressed to Philip of Macedon, is likewise one of the latest of Isocrates's productions.—The peace between the Athenians and Philip, which gave occasion to this discourse, was concluded three hundred and forty-seven years before Christ; so that Isocrates, when he composed it, must have been above ninety years of age. It is hardly to be imagined, notwithstanding the prevailing opinion of those who have written on the affairs of Greece, that a man of a humane and virtuous character, at this advanced period of life, should have employed himself in betraying his country. It is no less incredible, that Isocrates should not have seen through the designs of Philip, who had taken Olynthus, declared war against the Athenians, rendered Phocis tributary to Macedon, and who continued to pursue such measures as led to the final reduction of all Greece. Even the peace which he now granted the Athenians,

^z Cicero de Senect.

did not include their allies, who were exposed to continual injuries from this artful prince, whose designs, though long concealed, were now become so obvious, that it was impossible to mistake them. What then could be Isocrates's motive for addressing him in so respectful a strain, and for treating him rather as the protector than as the enemy of his country. It is to be observed, that even Demosthenes the inveterate enemy of Philip, though at first he exclaimed against the peace with this prince, yet afterwards, published a discourse to persuade the Athenians to observe it^d. — Though he continued to inveigh against Philip in the public assembly, he was sensible, that his countrymen were unable to resist him in the field. But Isocrates, more cautious and circumspect, instead of irritating that powerful monarch, endeavoured to appease him. He attempts by insinuation and address, to deceive the man who had so long deceived the Greeks. As ambition was the predominant passion in the breast of Philip, Isocrates offers to him the idea of an enterprise more glorious and splendid than even the conquest of Greece. "It becomes a prince like you," says he, "to despise little interests and inglorious victories. You ought to attempt an enterprise which, if successful, will raise your renown above that of all former monarchs, and which, though unfortunate, will ensure you the love and esteem of your countrymen." He then exhorts him to endeavour to reconcile the Greeks, and to lead forth their united force against the Barbarians. "This," says he, "will be more advantageous to you, than any other measures which it is possible for you to pursue; for honours, unless founded on virtue, are transitory and vain. Those alone, which are acquired by good actions, are transmitted unimpaired to posterity." Whoever

^d See Demost., on the peace.

compares

compares the principles laid down in this discourse, with those of the panegyric of Athens, and takes into consideration the political state of Greece at that time, will, I believe, be disposed to think, that Isocrates speaks like one who both understood thoroughly, and sincerely wished to promote, the true interests of his country.

His letters.

As he lived to a great age, and had educated many of the principal men, not only in Greece but in the neighbouring states, he maintained an extensive literary correspondence with the most distinguished characters of his own times. But there are only ten of his letters now remaining—Nine of these are placed among his works; the tenth, addressed to Archidamus, is published in the last edition of Photius's library. The three first are written to Philip of Macedon, and treat of the same subject with the discourse which we have just mentioned. The fourth is intended merely to recommend the bearer of it, who had been one of Isocrates's scholars, to the protection of that prince. The fifth is addressed to Alexander, congratulating him on his taste for literature and philosophy. The sixth is an excuse to the sons of Jason, leader of the Thessalians, for not accepting their invitation to reside with them. The seventh is a panegyric of the mild government of Timotheus, king of Heraclea. The eighth, is a recommendation of Agenor, who had been tutor to his grandchildren, to the magistrates of Mytlenè. The ninth, is a short fragment addressed to Dionysius the tyrant, reproaching him with his pride and cruelty.

The opinion of ancient critics concerning his eloquence.

In the most refined age of Greece, which produced those efforts of genius that will ever be admired in proportion as they are understood, Isocrates was considered as a writer of

of the first rank. Plato ^e makes Socrates speak of him as follows, "Isocrates is still young, but he has too much genius to be compared with Lysias; he shews a greater love for virtue, and I should not be surpris'd that, as his knowledge encreases with his years, he excel all those in the same walk of literature, as much as men excel children." Cicero observes ^f, that when Plato gives this honourable testimony of Isocrates, the latter was already old. His writings which entitled him to so much fame, were published; the prediction was accomplished.—In other passages of his works, Cicero ^g celebrates him as the father of eloquence, as infinitely superior to those who had gone before him, and still unrivalled in sweetness of numbers and all the graces of oratory. Quintilian maintains the same opinion with regard to his talents, and extolls him for having always consecrated them to the cause of virtue. Dionysius of Halicarnassus ^h, has left us a long criticism on the works of Isocrates. He admires particularly those sound maxims of conduct, and those grand principles of political wisdom, which may be discovered in them. This, indeed, is the light in which they ought always to have been viewed, and in which, had they been completely examined before, it would be unnecessary now to attempt any farther illustration of them.

^e In Phædr.

^f De Oratore.

^g Vide Cicero, de Orator. in Brut. et in Orator.

^h Dionys. in Isoc.





Ex Marmore Antiquo in Museo Capitolino.



London. Published 12th Feb^r 1778. by J. Murray N^o 35 Fleetstreet.

THE
PANEGYRICK OF ATHENS,
BY
ISOCRATES.

B



INTRODUCTION.

THIS discourse is seldom mentioned but as a feeble flowery production, polished indeed in style and perfect in harmony, but as destitute of useful information as of real eloquence; and which an inept trifling sophist was fifteen years in composing^a. Such errors have too long disgraced our taste and literature, and it is high time to correct them. It shall be proved that Isocrates could not possibly spend the third part of fifteen years in writing his Panegyric; that during this short period he was occasionally diverted from his studies by various avocations, and employed in the continual exercise of a laborious profession; that there is no monument of antiquity which more abounds in important matters of fact; and that the discourse is not unworthy of being pronounced in that numerous assembly at Olympia, of the best judges of eloquence who ever met together.

A sarcasm of Plutarch^b, a writer of a very inferior rank to Isocrates, seems first to have given rise to such general and gross misrepresentation. It is thus that a single line of Juvenal has made Cicero be condemned as a bad poet, though that orator possessed all the fire of poetry^c, and has left admirable

^a See Fenelon's Letter to the French Academy, and Dialogues on Eloquence, Thomas sur les Eloges, and other French critics.

^b Plut. de Gloria Atheniensium.

^c See the opinion of M. de Voltaire, which on this subject will hardly be called in question.

verses behind him. It is thus, perhaps, that Quinault will pass with posterity as an idle versifier without sentiment or taste, that Tasso's tinsel ornaments will become a proverb, and Ciber be another name for a dunce. For why may not the lines of Boileau or Pope produce their effect as fully as Juvenal's? Envy and malignity have not yet spent their force, and the indolence natural to men may still lead them to embrace many opinions upon trust.

Though this reason may sufficiently account for the severe judgment passed upon a writer, whom the general voice of antiquity places in the first rank, yet another cause not less powerful conspired in establishing the same erroneous opinion. The style and manner of the ancient Greek^d sophists being borrowed by the first advocates against Christianity, the indignation of the fathers of the church, too strong for discernment, vented itself not only against their guilty opponents, but even against those who had innocently furnished them with weapons. Their writings were first condemned as dangerous, and then decried as puerile. Isocrates, though I do not find that he assumed the name of sophist, had yet much of that character. The archbishop of Cambray, biassed by prejudices unworthy of his good taste, confounds him with the rest of that profession, and decries him as a sophist; and what author can withstand critical rage united with religious zeal?

But it is unfortunate that the reputation of Isocrates, so honourably acquired, should fall a sacrifice to these passions. It is unfortunate that a character truly great and amiable should be the sport of envy; and that talents adorned with virtues should not ensure an unspotted name to their owner.

^d See Note 1, page 14, &c.



The discourse which we have called the Panegyric of Athens does not exactly bear that title in the original. It is named simply *the Panegyric*, and that not because it contains the praises of a particular city, but because it was written for one of those general assemblies of all Greece, which in the language of that country were called *Panegyreis*. These were several in number; but that held at Olympia, for which this discourse was composed, far eclipsed the glory of the rest. The first institution of this famous festival is buried in the obscurity of ancient tradition; but its re-establishment by Iphitus or Chorebus four hundred and eight years after the destruction of Troy, in the year of the world three thousand one hundred and eighty-nine, and eight hundred and fifteen years before Christ, is ascertained by history. It is likewise generally known, that the Olympic games were celebrated every fifth year; that the intermediate time between one festival and another was called an Olympiad; and that by these Olympiads the later * Greek writers fixed the date of the transactions which they record.

The solemnity, which lasted several days, begun and ended with a sacrifice to *Olympian Jove*. As it had been instituted in a rude and ignorant age, the entertainments first exhibited in it were adapted to the taste and manners of a barbarous people. They consisted in trials of bodily strength and address, talents which will be always esteemed in proportion to the ignorance and poverty of men. But when wealth as well as science began to be diffused over Greece, the exercises of running, wrestling, and the other gymnastic arts, though not entirely laid aside, yet maintained only a secondary place at the Olympic

* Polybius is the earliest writer remaining who reckons by the Olympiads.

6 INTRODUCTION TO THE

exhibitions. Those who excelled their fellow-citizens in riches had there an opportunity of displaying them; there too the learned and the eloquent gave proofs of their superior abilities, and acquired those honours to which, in a free country, they are justly entitled. Such, however, was the general poverty of Greece, even in its most flourishing state, compared with the opulence of several modern nations in Europe, that the sending a few horses to contend in the chariot races at the Olympic games, was considered as the highest magnificence. The persons who had been so fortunate as to carry off the prize were conducted back to their native cities in triumph; they, ever afterwards, met with the most distinguished marks of respect; and not only reflected honour on their parents and families, but even on the countries to which they belonged. “ While the
“ management of civil affairs in the particular states advanced
“ the reputation of the statesman among his fellow-citizens
“ alone, the victories obtained at Olympia diffused the glory
“ of his country over all Greece ‘.”

In this celebrated assembly the useful accomplishments of the mind were not entirely eclipsed in the splendour of external magnificence. They enjoyed their full reward; they were displayed for the pleasure and improvement of mankind. Herodotus ^s, rehearsing his history with applause, fired Thucydides with emulation. Euripides ^b and Xenocles disputed the palm of tragedy; and Isocrates, by the following panegyric, maintained the glory of himself and of Athens against the most distinguished orators who flourished in that age.

^s Isocrates, in his defence of Alcibiades.

^s Suidas.

^b Ælianus Var. Hist.

But

But there is one circumstance, relating to the performance of this author, which is generally overlooked. His discourse is not merely a parade of vain eloquence, but an exhortation to his countrymen to pursue certain measures, on which alone their safety, or what they regarded as their safety, their liberty, depended.

We have already¹ explained the state of Greece immediately after the peace of Antalcidas concluded three hundred and eighty-seven years before Christ. The ambition of a single republic had then engaged her to abandon the honour of the whole Grecian confederacy. The same ambition afterwards led her to kindle those wars which ended in the ruin and slavery of that confederacy. It was become impossible, therefore, either to restore the splendour, or to avert the destruction of Greece, unless the leading states of Athens and Sparta should adopt a different conduct from that which they at present maintained. Solely intent upon increasing their relative force, or elevating their particular grandeur, they had entirely abandoned the general interests of their country; and their emulation with one another had sowed the seeds of those national animosities, which it was the more difficult to extinguish in a cluster of republics, as every particular citizen felt himself interested in the quarrels of the community, and adopted all its resentments.

One method alone remained for remedying these evils. In an association of free states, the usurpations of any one over the rest must either produce its own downfall, or end in the slavery of the whole. But that ambition which is so destructive in one member of the confederacy, may sometimes be useful in the

¹ See Discourse on the History of Greece.

whole body. When the bands of domestic union are broken, and civil dissensions have proceeded to a certain pitch, a foreign war may be the only expedient for removing them; and, how unfortunate soever this war may prove, if it can only put a stop to the outrages of the dominant state against its inferiors, it will thus become a good, by preventing the progress of an evil greater than itself. Sparta at present was this state, and she abused her superiority to the worst purposes. Isocrates informs us, that immediately before the publication of his discourse, she had seized the citadel of Thebes, and had undertaken an unjust war against the Olynthians. The rest of Greece either trembled at her violence, or were preparing to repel it.

During this distracted situation of the Greeks, the orator endeavoured once more to renew their alliance, and to divert their animosity against one another towards their common enemy the king of Persia, whose affairs were at that time in the utmost disorder. The rich plains of Asia, these, he says, were objects more worthy of their ambition than the barren territories about which they now contended; and he insists, that by a Persian war alone they might ward off the calamities which then threatened them, and which afterwards happened according to his prediction. But to the end that this war might be undertaken with common consent, it was necessary, if possible, to moderate the haughty pretensions of Sparta. The dispute concerning pre-eminence in time of peace, or of a superior command in their military expeditions, had at all times occupied the Greeks. Even during the Persian wars, an alliance with Athens and Sparta had been rejected by the Argives and other states, because they were not admitted to an equal authority. The islands of Crete and Corcyra insisted on the
same

same right, and that of Sicily even pretended to the chief command. The moderation of Athens alone, which then yielded to Sparta, saved the whole country from becoming a province of the Persian empire.

To recal the memory of events so favourable to an union between these rival states Isocrates undertakes with the greater pleasure, as it affords him an opportunity of celebrating the glory of his republic, who, though she had receded from her pretensions on account of the general safety, was nevertheless justly entitled to the pre-eminence. This he proves by the priority of her political establishments, and the superior lustre of her military exploits. He ascribes to the Athenians all the Grecian improvements, whether in peace or war. He adopts the ancient traditions, but without reposing implicit confidence in such uncertain authority, he endeavours to confirm them by what might be expected to result from the original situation of the Greeks. In short, he gives a general deduction of the Athenian history from the remotest ages, and particularly of the benefits which that people had bestowed on their neighbours. The happy influence of their administration during the time that elapsed between the Persian invasion and the war of Peloponnesus, is described in the warmest colours, and contrasted with the oppressive measures of the Spartans after the fortune of that war had given them the superiority. These, however, are artfully referred rather to the arbitrary disposition of certain individuals, than to the ambitious spirit of the nation. He would have departed from his original design had he said any thing to irritate the Greeks against one another. He desires to throw their resentment entire on the Barbarians; and no circumstance is omitted which can tend to produce this effect. The contrast

C

between

between these two nations in their manners and form of government; their eternal animosities; the many injuries offered and retorted; the monuments of vengeance which they always left behind them in their several expeditions against one another;—all this is represented in the strongest and most forcible manner. Nor are the advantages which the Greeks generally obtained over enemies so much inferior to them, forgotten. The natural cowardice and effeminacy of the Persians is ascribed to their wretched system of policy, as odious to the gods, as dishonourable to human nature. Their great wealth is taken notice of, as well as their unworthiness to enjoy it, and their inability to defend it. The present conjuncture, above all, is affirmed to be so favourable for undertaking a Persian war, that none preferable to it could be imagined. This conjuncture is described, and the manner of carrying on that war is pointed out. The oration concludes with the warmest exhortations to the different ranks of persons in the assembly, to use their utmost endeavours, and to employ their several abilities, for the purpose of engaging their countrymen in so useful and seasonable an enterprize.

The general purport of the discourse leaves no room to doubt concerning the time about which it was written. The event which evidently suggested to Isocrates the idea of such a performance, was the peace of Antalcidas concluded with the court of Persia, through the influence of the Lacedæmonians; who, in order to have an opportunity of carrying on their ambitious designs against Greece, made peace with Persia. The orator, indignant at this measure, insists that a peace dishonourable to the Grecian name ought not to be observed, and that his countrymen, with united forces, should carry the war
into

into Asia. The peace of Antalcidas is known to have been concluded three hundred and eighty-seven years before Christ. The taking of the citadel of Thebes by the Lacedæmonians, which Isocrates speaks of as an event that had just happened, is commonly fixed at the year three hundred and eighty-three before Christ. Upon the supposition therefore that he began to write his discourse immediately after the conclusion of the peace, he could only employ four years in this task. He could not possibly employ more, as is evident from his observing in the discourse itself, that it was now the sixth year of the war between Evagoras and the king of Persia. The sixth year of this war is generally supposed to precede the taking of the Theban citadel^{*}, and cannot possibly be reckoned later than the year three hundred and eighty-three before Christ. Such is the foundation for Plutarch's report of the fifteen years employed in writing this discourse. It is to be wished that such as have undertaken to illustrate the writings of the classical age of Greece, had paid more attention to these invaluable productions, and given less credit to later writers among the ancients, whose mistakes arising from ignorance, prejudice, the difficulty of obtaining authentic or exact memorials in ages where printing was unknown, have thrown great obscurity on subjects not less clear than important.

The period at which Isocrates published his Panegyrick agrees with the fiftieth year of his age, which, as it appears from the account of his life prefixed to this work, was after he had been deprived of his fortune, and obliged on that account to exercise various employments in order to procure a livelihood.

^{*} See the Funeral Oration of Evagoras.

The character of composition in this discourse is sensibly different from that upon the Peace, the Archidamus, and Areopagitie. I should not hesitate to give the preference to these latter productions. Isocrates, as he grew old, corrected his manner, improved on himself, disdained the little ornaments of style of which he was at first too fond, and became more austere, forcible, and persuasive.

The Panegyrick, as it is well known, did not produce the effect intended by it. The Greeks continued in their intestine broils, and wrought out their own destruction. Isocrates, however, as we learn from an anonymous letter addressed to Philip of Macedon, in the collection of Leo Allatius, did not desist from employing every effort to promote the purpose which he appears from his Panegyrick to have had so much at heart. When he could no longer entertain any hopes of prevailing on his countrymen, deaf to all advice, and running blindfold on their ruin, he addressed himself to Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse, to Alexander the Theffalian, and at length to Philip of Macedon. Philip meditated the expedition into Asia, which Isocrates advised. His successor Alexander carried it into execution, and conquered the Persian empire; not, however, by the strength of the Grecian republics, now deprived of their freedom, and which had neglected the proper season for reaping this harvest of glory.

T H E

THE
P A N E G Y R I C K
O F
A T H E N S.

I HAVE always thought it remarkable that the lawgivers who instituted our public games, and established our general assemblies, should have appointed prizes of no small value for the combatants who excel in feats of bodily strength and address, while they allowed the talents of men of genius to languish without encouragement. Yet if the qualities most beneficial to others be the best entitled to their regard, the accomplishments of the mind ought to be preferred before all other advantages. The wrestler may increase his own activity, the racer may redouble his speed, but neither of them can transfer any share of those excellencies to another; for the powers of the body can never be communicated; but the wisdom of the sage diffuses itself through the whole society; his writings carry light and improvement every where along with them, and all who have minds open to receive his instructions may reap from them, not only the purest pleasure, but the most solid advantage. The little encouragement, therefore, that is given to literary pursuits will never determine me to abandon them;

them; for me their intrinsic worth will always have sufficient charms; and the glory of pronouncing a discourse by which all Greece may be benefited, will supply the place of every other reward, and fully requite my labours.

Many pretended sophists¹, I know, have already exhorted you to lay aside your private differences, and to declare war
against

¹ The sophists, here mentioned as rivals to Isocrates, are very differently spoken of by ancient writers, and their real character is not generally understood. It may be agreeable, therefore, to some readers to have a short account of them.

During the early ages of Greece, its inhabitants being plunged in the grossest ignorance and barbarity, they regarded with the most profound respect every advancement in knowledge beyond the rude conceptions of the vulgar. Persons who had acquired a little acquaintance with the simplest experiments in natural philosophy, who had adopted some easy improvements from countries more enlightened than their own, and, above all, who had been instructed in the rites and ceremonies of the East, were looked upon as prophets and magicians, and applied to for relief on every occasion of public calamity. (Diogenes Laertius in Vita Epimen. Tzetzes Chil. Hist. B. v. c. 23.) The few who, by turning their thoughts inwards on themselves, or by reflecting on the actions of others, had discovered the first simple maxims for the conduct and happiness of human life, met with particular honour; and those who, impelled by an early instinct, had abandoned the laborious occupations of an uncultivated age, and addicting themselves to the gentler pursuits of music, poetry, and eloquence, had made some slight progress in arts which are never altogether unknown, even in the rudest state of society, were held in the highest veneration on account of these accomplishments, distinguished by the name of wise men, and regarded by the ignorant vulgar, who could assign no limits to their abilities, as beings of a superior order, and endued with supernatural powers. Such were Linus, Museus, Orpheus the Thracian *sophist*, or wise man, and others whose history has come down to us disfigured by tradition, or blended with fable. Solon, the famous lawgiver, was the first person on whom the title of *sophist* was conferred by the Athenians; and as he united the abilities of the statesman to the talents of the poet, the name came from him to be frequently applied to such as addicted themselves to the study of civil affairs. (Isocrates de Antidos. Plut. in Vita Solon.)

The great men, however, who in different countries of Greece imitated the example of Solon, began to decline the being distinguished by an appellation which they
considered

against the Barbarians. I purpose once more to address you upon the same important topic, hoping to treat it in a manner so different

considered as arrogant and invidious. They generally assumed the name of some other art, which might serve as a veil to their real character and profession. Some called themselves musicians, as Damon the teacher of Pericles, and Pythodes the wife Chian; others intitled themselves professors of the exercises then most in repute, which the Greeks called the *gymnastic* arts; and, in fine, all rejected the name of *sophist*, as expressive of occult and mysterious wisdom, which in a barbarous age had excited reverential fear and sacred awe, but after the first dawn of light and knowledge, could only be attended with contempt, envy, or reproach. (Plut. in Pericle. Plato in Protagora.)

But when the arts and sciences came to be still more generally cultivated, and those who aspired at eminence in them were no longer regarded as aiming at any thing very extraordinary or uncommon, the appellation of *sophist* began to be again courted with as much eagerness, as it had been before avoided with care. The different states of Greece having assumed their liberty, and established public assemblies for deliberating upon all matters of importance, eloquence became the accomplishment most in request, and the art of teaching it was the peculiar province of the *sophists*. Prodicus, the first who embraced the rhetorical profession at Athens, gave instructions upon this subject to Socrates and to Isocrates. (Plato in Menone.) Prodicus did not pretend to deep knowledge in the theory of his art, but possessing a lively and beautiful imagination, he expressed himself in an easy natural style, and delighted his countrymen with the elegance of his fictions; of which we have a specimen in "The Choice of Hercules," still preserved to us in Xenophon. Other *sophists* flourished about the same time in different parts, as Hippias the Elian, Thrasymachus the Chalcedonian, and Protagoras of Abdera. All these met with the highest honours in their several countries; they were attended by a numerous and flourishing youth, who hung upon their lips and admired them for their wisdom: and at the Pythian games, or in the general assemblies at Olympia, they displayed their superior talents before all Greece.

Animated with an ardor for obtaining equal fame, Gorgias of Leontium engaged in the same career, and outstripped every competitor. Though the poems of Homer had rendered the Greeks acquainted with all the beauties of poetry, they were still ignorant of the graces, of which, even in prose composition, their language was susceptible. Gorgias set himself to discover these; and working on the materials of such a language as the Greek, and in a climate where the whole frame is most sensible to harmony, his endeavours were crowned with extraordinary success. Among people accustomed to half-barbarous languages, and whose organs resist the powers of music,

the

different from that in which it has been hitherto handled, that the subject will yet appear new and unoccupied; and those
 surely

the ornaments of *antithesis*, *numerus*, *melody*, first employed by Gorgias in public speaking, would have excited no enthusiasm; and the impression which the first display of these new graces of their language made upon the Greeks, will probably appear altogether unaccountable. Gorgias, we are told, being sent ambassador from Sicily to Athens, and permitted, according to custom, to declare his commission in the general assembly, the Athenians were enraptured with the charms of his discourse, and, lost in admiration, believed that they heard Mercury. (Pausan. Eliac.) A short time afterwards, he spoke at the Pythian games, and occasioned equal delight. It was ordered that the day upon which his oration was delivered should be henceforth observed as a festival: his discourses were called *luminaries*; and a golden statue was erected to him in the temple of Apollo. (Philost.)

These honours kindled the emulation of Thucydides, Plato, Lyfias, and Isocrates; and the last is said to have been considerably indebted to both Gorgias and Lyfias for several parts of his Panegyrick of Athens. (Plut. Isoc.) But if we may judge from Lyfias's oration still extant, and from what is said of that of Gorgias by ancient writers, (Aristot. in Phil.) we shall have reason to conclude, that this is one of the many false aspersions which the envy of Isocrates's talents and success made his contemporaries throw upon him, and which has been transcribed from their works without examination.

The *sophist* Antiphon did not attempt to rival Gorgias in declaiming upon ordinary subjects, but applied himself entirely to writing certain philosophical discourses, which were considered as *amulets* or charms against sorrow and diseases of the mind. These he delivered in the most considerable cities, to the great delight of his audience. (Philost.) He composed also an "Art of Rhetoric," in which he was imitated by Lyfias and Isæus. Aristotle mentions a treatise upon the same branch of literature by the *sophists* Calliptus and Pamphilus. (L. 2. Rhetor.) And the taste for handling this subject became so prevalent among the *sophists*, that Isocrates endeavours to ridicule it in his discourse against them.

Hitherto we have seen that their character was by no means contemptible. Even Philip of Macedon respected the *sophists*, and imitated their style. The same may be said of Alexander their benefactor. (Plut. in Alex.) But their disputes with one another tended to bring them into disgrace. The refinements of composition, also, which they had invented, they were apt to carry to excess; which made Dionysius the Milesian *sophist* observe, that honey ought to be taken on the tip of the finger, and not in the hollow of the hand: and Phocion compared the eloquence of the *sophist*
 Leosthenes

surely are the noblest fields of eloquence, which by their vastness and extent not only afford an opportunity to display the utmost abilities of the speaker, but which, if properly cultivated, may promote the highest interest of his hearers. The subject which I have chosen reunites both these advantages, and is besides particularly seasonable at the present juncture; for our affairs continue in the same unhappy condition as formerly, because those who undertook to retrieve them have proved unequal to so arduous a task. Why then should I de-

Leothenes to a tall beautiful cypress which bore no fruit. (Plut. Apophth.) But that which principally injured their reputation was their excessive vanity in boasting to perform things impossible. This learned pride began so early to display itself, that Hippias pretended at the Olympic games to speak extempore upon all subjects whatever: he pretended to understand all sciences and arts, even the most vile; and said, that he had made his own cloak, shoes, and ring. (Plato in *Hippias*.) Plato likewise accuses Thrasymachus of insolence and temerity, and Protagoras of arrogance and bombast. Yet if we believe Dionysius of *Halicarnassus ad Pomp.* Plato's opinion is not sufficiently disinterested to be admitted as complete evidence upon this subject. These *sophists* were his rivals for wealth and literary fame, which this great philosopher had not learned so thoroughly to despise as the example of his master Socrates might have taught him. The same observation, I believe, may be applied to Isocrates's reproaches of the *sophists*. Even Xenophon is not perhaps to be considered as altogether impartial in what he says of them. His admiration of the Socratic philosophy might lead him to speak with too much severity of those who opposed the doctrines of his master.

But whatever weight we allow to the writers of the Socratic school, it is certain that the *sophists* were not anciently looked upon in that odious or contemptible light in which their characters have been represented to posterity. Unfortunately for their reputation, their style and manner of writing was early adopted by the advocates against the Christian religion. This roused the indignation of the fathers of the church against the whole race. They treat them as vain displayers of useless words; as painted harlots who come forth to allure and to destroy; they assert that their eloquence is to be avoided as a bait, and that the beginning of wisdom is to despise their art. (St. Chrysost. St. Gregory Naziaz.) See more on this subject in Philostratus, Crescilius, &c.

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cline any labour or exertion, by which Greece may be healed of her present wounds, delivered from her intestine divisions, and saved from those final calamities which threaten to overwhelm her.

Though I must make use of the same materials which my predecessors have already employed, my observations shall have nothing in common with theirs; for eloquence can represent the same objects under many different forms, and at pleasure lessen or enlarge them. Those parts which appeared most bright the orator can throw into the shade; to those which were faint or obscure he can give brilliancy and colour: he can exhibit what is new in a venerable ancient garb, and adorn what is ancient with all the graces of novelty. No argument therefore ought to be abandoned as trite, while there is a possibility of excelling those who have treated it. Past transactions are a common stock, to the use of which all writers are equally entitled; but the art of recording them in their proper place, of deducing from them useful reflections, and of adorning the whole with a style both harmonious and expressive, is the peculiar talent of genius, cultivated with care and exercised by application. In my opinion, indeed, it would greatly contribute to the advancement of all the arts, and particularly of eloquence, if we honoured with our applause and our esteem, not such as have opened a new career, but those who have distinguished themselves in pursuing an old one; not such as have afforded the original materials for any literary composition, but those who, by giving a just arrangement and proper ornaments to the materials already prepared, have wrought them up into perfection.

There

There are some men, however, who affect to be disgusted with every appearance of art, and who can bear with no species of writing which is not adapted to the capacities of the vulgar. But their notions on this subject are extremely erroneous. They confound the finished productions of unwearied industry with the unlaboured pleadings of the bar, not reflecting that their design is as different as their execution; and that while the one has no farther view but to confirm or set aside some private contract, the other, though little adapted to the coarseness of practice, is an effort for immortal fame. I would ask these admirers of simplicity, whether they imagine that the orator who can array his sentiments in all the ornaments of an elegant and refined style, could not also present them in a less artificial dress, if the occasion should require it? Yet we may easily discover their motive for maintaining principles so contrary to reason: they are willing to bestow their applause only on those talents which resemble their own.

It is not, however, to such critics that I address myself; it is to those who can feel all the beauties of art, whose judgment is nice, whose ear is delicate, who will let slip no word without examination, and who expect to find in my composition a character which they have no where else discerned. To these I have still somewhat to observe, before I enter on my subject.

It is usual to begin a discourse with begging indulgence for its imperfections. The orator governed by this custom is always well provided in such excuses as may avert the censure of his audience. He either had not leisure to give the last polish to his performance, or it is impossible to find words adequate to the grandeur of his subject. For my part, I scorn to gain your favour by such mean contrivances. If I speak in a manner

unworthy of the subject, or of my own reputation; if my discourse does not correspond, I say not to the time spent in composing it, but to all the time of my life; I demand for it no protection, I submit to your derision and contempt. And surely I shall deserve the utmost ridicule and disgrace, if, after such magnificent promises, I offer nothing to authorise them. But this is saying enough of my own affairs; it is now time to consider those of the public.

All those who have spoken in this assembly advise you to lay aside your private differences, and to levy war against the Barbarians. They have enumerated the unhappy consequences of your civil commotions, and described the important advantages which might result from a distant expedition. Their opinion surely is just, and their arguments in support of it are well founded; but they place them not in that light which is most favourable for their cause.

The different states of Greece are divided into two parties, according to their form of government. At the head of the one are the Lacedæmonians, the other depends entirely on Athens. To think then of making all these discordant members act harmoniously, without first adjusting to one design the powers which actuate and controul them, betrays an ignorance both of our public affairs and of the invariable nature of things. If we intend therefore not merely to make an ostentatious parade of a vain eloquence, but to benefit you by practical advice, we must endeavour to reconcile Athens and Sparta; we must engage these rival states to lay aside the enmity which divides them, and by their united force to acquire that superiority over the Barbarians which at present they are so desirous of usurping over each other.

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It would be easy to bring Athens to this resolution; but the Spartans, naturally inflexible, are confirmed in their present obstinacy by a national prejudice. They believe, that by hereditary right they are entitled to the supremacy of Greece. But if it should be proved, that this very title which they allege in their favour is actually against them, and might be claimed by Athens with more propriety and reason, perhaps they may depart from a pretension, not more haughty and unjust than inconsistent with the public interest. From this topic your speakers should have set out; and before enlarging on the principles which we all agree in, they ought to have removed the causes of our dissension.

For my part, there are two reasons which engage me to undertake this task: the first and principal, that you may be thoroughly reconciled with one another, and persuaded to turn all your resentment against the Barbarians; the second, that, if unsuccessful in this principal design, I may at least have an opportunity of pointing out the obstacles to your happiness, and of proving in the face of this assembly the ancient superiority of Athens on the sea, and its present title to assert the first rank among the Greeks.

And indeed, if we allow that those should obtain the pre-eminence who both possess the greatest power, and display the greatest wisdom and skill in exerting it, it is impossible to refuse us that station which we formerly maintained; for there is no city in Greece so much distinguished for its military exploits, as Athens for her naval expeditions. But should this way of deciding be called in question; should it be said that human affairs are subject to great revolutions; that power seldom remains for any considerable time in the same hands; and that the right of
supremacy,

supremacy, like every other distinction among the Greeks, should belong to those who have first acquired it, or who by their services have merited it the best; I am persuaded that these principles are still as favourable to our cause, and that the more weight we allow them, our pretensions will acquire the greater validity and force.

It is confessed, that of all the cities in Greece, ^{that} ours is the most ancient and the most populous, and which amongst all mankind has acquired the greatest glory and renown. To titles so splendid and convincing we join others still more honourable. The territory which we now inhabit was neither acquired by occupation, nor seized by violence. We are not a mixed assemblage of different nations, whom chance or necessity has collected on the same spot; but our origin is so noble and so pure, that the land in which we are born is the immemorial possession of our ancestors; and the same soil which affords nourishment to us, originally gave existence to them. From that obscure and unknown period we have ever, without interruption, enjoyed the same inheritance, which is related to us by the most endearing and powerful ties; for of all the Greeks we alone can call the land which we inhabit our nurse^m,

^m Lyfias, in his funeral oration, has an observation to the same purpose. It is impossible to understand the force of either, without attending to the manners of the Greeks. In the most cultivated of the modern languages, the term *nurse* is so ignoble, that it could hardly enter into a panegyrick. But among the ancients, the woman who had brought up a child was considered as particularly related to it: she never quitted it even when grown up, and was always looked upon as a member of the family. Hence, in the ancient tragedies, a princess seldom appears on the stage without being accompanied by her nurse, who is her friend and confidant. The modern Greeks have still the same way of thinking; the nurse makes a distinguished member of the family, and the modern name *Paramana*, by which she is called, literally signifies a second mother. (Spon. Dict.)

our country, and our mother. It belongs to those who dispute with us the sovereign power, who defend their present pretensions by their former rights, and so often boast the titles of their ancestors, to prove an origin as illustrious and noble. Such then was the beginning of our society, and so considerable are the advantages which we derive from fortune and the gods.

But the benefits which we have conferred on others require a deduction of much greater length: for to shew the merits of our services, we must run over the annals of our history, and record from the beginning the transactions of our ancestors. We shall find that it is to Athens the Greeks owe their all, whether with regard to war or political institutions, or the arts which polish life and render it agreeable. In this deduction you are not to expect a detail of those less considerable services which time has obliterated or obscured, and which your orators have forgotten or disdained; but of those signal benefits known to all, neglected by none, and celebrated in every age and country.

To begin with the first and most necessary demand of human nature, you will find that our ancestors were they who supplied it. Though what I am going to relate may be disfigured by tradition or fable, the substance of it is not the less deserving of your regard. When Ceres wandered from one country to another in quest of her daughterⁿ, who had been carried off by

ⁿ Proserpine. The mythology may be seen at greater length in Diodorus, Book V. and other writers. But Isocrates's account of the whole matter is not only the most authentic, as containing the general opinion of all the Greeks before whom his discourse was delivered, but also the most distinct and concise which I remember any where to have met with. The arrival of Ceres in Attica is placed by chronologers under the reign of Erechtheus, about fourteen hundred years before Christ. The Athenians

by violence, she received in Attica the most favourable treatment, and those particular good offices which it is lawful to make known only to the initiated. The goddess was not ungrateful for such favours, but, in return, conferred on our ancestors the two most valuable presents which either Heaven can bestow, or mankind can receive; the practice of agriculture, which delivered us from the fierce and precarious manner of life common to us with wild animals; and the knowledge of those sacred mysteries which fortify the initiated against all the terrors of death, and inspire them with the pleasing hopes of an happy immortality.

Our ancestors discovered as much benevolence in dispensing these favours, as piety in obtaining them; for their humanity communicated what their virtue had acquired. The mysteries were annually unveiled to all desirous to receive them; and the practice, the means, the advantages of agriculture, were diffused over all Greece.

Should any person entertain a doubt about the certainty of these facts, a few words will be sufficient to convince him. Their great antiquity, the universal tradition of them which prevails among all nations, is a sufficient proof that they are not fictions of a day; that if not founded in truth, they must

Athenians attributed to her the establishment of the mysteries which were celebrated at Eleusis. This was the most famous religious ceremony of antiquity; it lasted nine days, during which there were continual sacrifices, processions, public games, and other entertainments, at which not less than thirty thousand persons were sometimes present. (Herod. lib. viii. c. 65.) Like the Panathenaea, and other great festivals of the Athenians, to which Isocrates alludes in the following parts of this discourse, it was celebrated every fifth year. Other states observed this festival every fourth year. See Potter's *Antiquities*, vol. i. c. 20.; Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*: whose account of the design of the mysteries is perfectly agreeable to what Isocrates here says of them.

be at least supported by probability. But we are not reduced to depend merely on conjectures. The first fruits of the ground, which are annually delivered to us by the greatest part of Greece, are a standing evidence of our ancient benefaction. If the Greeks at any time have neglected this ceremony, the oracles of the gods have reproached their ingratitude and commanded them to conform to their hereditary customs. What then shall we afterwards *believe* if we refuse our *assent* to facts attested by the gods, admitted by the greatest part of Greece, supported by ancient traditions, and confirmed by modern usages?

But, independent of these considerations, we must admit, upon the sole principles of reason, that the inhabitants of this earth were originally in a very different situation from what they live in at present: they received not all their benefits at once from the hands of Nature, but were allowed to procure them gradually, and by reiterated efforts. Whether then we attribute their discovery to the labours of men, or to the bounty of the gods, is it not reasonable to conclude, that those should have been the first acquainted with them, who are regarded by all men as the most ancient, who are acknowledged to have a peculiar genius for cultivating the arts, and whose piety towards the gods exceeds that of all other nations? It is unnecessary to consider the honours which so important services deserve; for no recompence can ever be conceived which may sufficiently reward them. So much then of the first, the greatest, and most general of all our good offices.

Towards that early period at which we performed it, the Barbarians possessed an extensive territory, while the Greeks were confined within the limits of a narrow district. The former lived at large, and enjoyed all the benefits of their situa-

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tion: the latter, imprisoned as they were, fought with one another about their pitiful possessions, and perished by the calamities of war, or the want of common necessities. Our ancestors were not useless spectators of these misfortunes, but generously set themselves to remove them. They sent commanders into the different cities, who, assembling under their standard the most needy, or the most miserable, might lead them forth against the Barbarians, and put them in possession of some part of their territory. These expeditions were attended with uncommon success; the Barbarians were conquered, and driven from their frontiers; new cities were founded on the continents^o both of Asia and Europe, and all the intermediate islands were subjected by our arms, and peopled by our colonies. The Athenian leaders, therefore, equally benefited both the Greeks who accompanied them, and those who remained at home. To the one they left the peaceable enjoyment of such possessions as were necessary for their support; and to the other, who were formerly destitute, they gave a territory not only sufficient to maintain them, but even more rich and extensive than that which they had left; for they acquired all that valuable tract which is still possessed by the Grecian colonies, and in which those Greeks who, in imitation of the example of the Athenians, were inclined to settle

^o Suidas observes, that the word translated *continent* generally means in Isocrates the territories of the king of Persia. But here the plain sense is that which we have given. We are to take our author's account, however, of the Greek colonization with some grains of allowance. Admitting all that he says in general to be true, it does not appear from history that we ought to ascribe the whole honour of this matter to the Athenians. In what respect did they promote the settlements, for instance, which the Lacedæmonians formed at Tarentum in Italy, or at Cyrene in Africa? except perhaps it may be said, that the Athenians being the first who sent colonies abroad, had the sole honour of the contrivance.

abroad, established themselves at different times without opposition or danger. Is it possible then to shew a superiority more ancient than ours, which preceded the foundation of most cities in Greece; or one more nobly employed, than in placing our countrymen in the lands, and in enriching them with the spoils, of Barbarians?

But such grand and useful designs did not make our ancestors overlook less important objects. They began, as every wise government ought to begin, by securing to all dependent on them the first necessities of life. But considering that these, though sufficient to support life, could not render it commodious, they applied themselves with equal assiduity to promote this useful purpose. Their endeavours were crowned with success; and of all the benefits which mortals do not immediately derive from the gods, but which are the result of human invention or sagacity, the Greeks acquired none without the intervention of our ancestors, and by their assistance they obtained the most considerable and important.

The inhabitants of Greece anciently led a wandering unsettled life, uncultivated by laws, and unrestrained by any regular form of government. While one part fell a sacrifice to unbridled anarchy and sedition, another was oppressed by the wanton insolence of tyrants. But Athens delivered them from these calamities, either by receiving them under her immediate protection, or by exhibiting herself as a model of a more equitable system of policy: for of all the states of Greece, she was the first who established a government of laws, and rendered the voice of equity superior to the arm of violence. This is

evident from the first criminal prosecutions^p, where the punishment was fought for in a legal manner, and not by the decision of the sword. The parties, though strangers, came to Athens, and received the benefit of our laws.

Our ancestors bestowed their attention not merely on the useful arts, but likewise on those which are agreeable. Many of these they invented, others they carried to perfection, and all of them they communicated and diffused. Both their public institutions, and the whole system of their private œconomy, were founded on the most liberal and extensive principles: they were adapted to the enjoyments of the rich, and to the necessities of the poor: the prosperous and the unhappy found themselves equally accommodated: to the one we offered an elegant retreat; to the other a comfortable asylum.

The commodities of the different states of Greece were different. No one sufficed for itself; but while it could spare of its own productions, it stood in need of those of its neighbours.

^p The facts here alluded to are also taken notice of by Lyfias, in his funeral oration, and are of no small importance in the history of civil society. The measures taken by Theseus for uniting the different clans or tribes which inhabited Attica into one body politic, may be seen in Plutarch. The history of the Areopagus is explained in the introduction to the Areopagitic discourse. It was before this court, formed in the rudest age, and which afforded the first glimpse of light and justice amidst the gloom of barbarity and violence which then overspread Greece, that the criminal cause spoken of by Isocrates was decided. Neptune and Mars were two petty princes of Theffaly. Halirrothous, son of the former, had violated Alcippe, daughter of Mars, who punished the ravisher by death. Neptune, instead of following the ordinary practice of that lawless age, and of employing private vengeance against the murderer of his son, brought his complaint before the Areopagus; which court declared that the punishment of the ravisher was no more than what his offence had deserved. (Pausanias, l. i. c. 21. Plin. l. vii. c. 56.)

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This occasioned every where a double inconveniency; for they could neither sell what was superfluous, nor purchase what they had occasion for. Athens erects the Pireus; the evil immediately disappears. A trading town is established in the middle of Greece, where the merchandise of all the different countries are brought to market, and purchased at a cheaper rate than on the spot which produced them.

We owe a just tribute of praise to the authors of our public assemblies. It is in these that our differences are reconciled, our prejudices removed, and that, joining in our prayers and sacrifices, we are formed into one body and state. It is in these that we call to mind our common origin, confirm our ancient friendships, enter into new alliances, or cement the former ties by which we were united. Here, such as are distinguished by superior talents have the noblest opportunity of displaying them, and those who lament the want of such talents receive the highest consolation. The first have the pleasure of seeing all Greece the witness of their abilities; the second, of amusing themselves at the expence of others, of observing the brightest talents displayed on their account, and of being in some measure the judges of their merit. In the encouragement of institutions so useful, no state has gone further than ours. We have shows the most numerous and brilliant; some are distinguished for the magnificence displayed in them; others for the arts and talents which they afford an opportunity of exhibiting; and several on both these accounts. The numbers who visit us on such occasions are immense; and if there be any merit in bringing mankind together, and in rendering them more social and humane, we have the best title to assert it. It is likewise in Athens that we meet with friendships
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never to be dissolved, and that we find such agreeable societies as are no where else to be discovered. In these we dispute the prizes, not of agility and strength, but of eloquence and philosophy; prizes the more considerable, because the rest of Greece unites with us in dispensing them; and approving the decision of this state, rewards those whom we have judged victorious.

In other countries of Greece the assemblies continue but for a short time, and meet by distant intervals. But Athens is a constant assembly to all who chuse to frequent it: Athens also is the seat of philosophy, which hath contrived and established all those institutions which hath softened our manners, and regulated our conduct; and which, by teaching us to distinguish between evils brought upon us by imprudence, and those inflicted by necessity, hath enabled us to ward off the one, and to bear the other honourably. Athens likewise is the theatre of eloquence^a, a talent which all men are ambitious to acquire, and which excites so much envy against those who actually possess it. She has ever been sensible that speech is the original characteristic of human nature, and that it is by the employment of it alone we acquire all those powers which distinguish us from other animals. She has ever been sensible that fortune might disturb the order of events, confound the designs of the wise, and give success to the rash attempts of folly and

^a It is not remarkable that the author should appear a little diffuse on this subject, as he alludes to his own character and employment. The school of Isocrates, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus observes, was the *image of his native country*, on account of the number of colonies which went out from it. His scholars not only made a figure at home in the public assemblies, but distinguished themselves as ambassadors to foreign states: they were honoured by republics and princes on account of their talents; and wherever the Greek language extended, they spread the glory of their country and master.

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inexperience ; but that the art of speaking with elegance and force was superior even to fortune, and could never be acquired but by men of judgment and ability ; that eloquence formed the true distinction between the rustic and the sage ; that it was neither by their valour, their riches, nor any such advantages, but by their eloquence alone, that those who had received a liberal education rendered themselves conspicuous ; that this was the surest test of the manner in which each of us had been educated ; that it was by eloquence, in fine, we not only acquired an irresistible influence over those among whom we lived, but diffused our reputation and extended our power over countries the most remote from us. In eloquence and philosophy, therefore, Athens so far excels all other nations, that those who are considered as novices at home, become masters elsewhere ; that the name of *Greek* is not employed to denote the inhabitant of a particular country, but rather the talents for which the men of that country are distinguished ; and that this appellation is more frequently bestowed on such as are acquainted with our literature, than on those who were born in our territories.

I do not insist on this subject for want of other topics : it was proper to say thus much, because there are many who esteem these talents. But I have promised you a complete panegyrick ; and the merit of our ancestors is not less illustrious on account of their military exploits, than of their civil establishments. The wars in which they have been engaged are neither inconsiderable for their number, their object, nor the power of those who opposed them. They are numerous, great, important ; sustained in defence of their own territories, or undertaken in support of the general liberty : for our ancestors have always
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regarded their city as the common mother of Greece; as the protectress of the innocent, and the scourge of oppressors. On this account indeed we have even been subjected to censure. It has been objected to us as a defect in our policy, that we have generally united with the weak against the strong: but such objections form the panegyrick of our state: for we were not ignorant of the security arising from powerful alliances; we had too much experience not to know the danger of befriending the wretched; but this *danger* we have always preferred, that *security* we have always disdained; because the danger was honourable, and the security was base. Our sentiments on this subject, and our dignity in maintaining them, is proved by the great number of those who have had recourse to us in their distress. I do not speak of late events, or insignificant occurrences, but of such as preceded the war of Troy, and alone, therefore, deserve to be related by those who would defend the antiquity of their prerogatives. Long before that period, the children of Hercules, and still before them, Adrastus king of Argos, came to implore our assistance. Adrastus had been unfortunate in his expedition against Thebes. He was not able to recover the bodies of those who fell under the walls of that city: he entreated therefore of our ancestors, that commiserating the misfortunes to which all men were exposed, they would not allow *their* bodies to remain unburied who had died with arms in their hands^{*}, nor permit the violation of a ceremony
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^{*} The stories of Adrastus and Eurystheus are both taken notice of by Lyfias in his funeral oration. These ancient fables are indeed more proper subjects for poets and panegyrists than for historians. It may be unnecessary to mention, that the rites of funeral formed a material part of the superstition of the Greeks. The judicious Thucydides, in his pathetic description of the calamities occasioned by the plague at Athens,

so ancient and venerable, and held as sacred among the Athenians as among all the other Greeks. The children of Hercules, again, when persecuted by the resentment of Eurystheus, judged the other states of Greece to be incapable of relieving their misfortunes, fled to Athens for refuge, and expected from our ancestors alone a return for those important services which Hercules had rendered to all mankind. From these particulars it is natural to conclude, that Athens even then possessed the highest rank in Greece; which she may with justice, therefore, contend for at present. For who would have applied for assistance to a state less powerful than their own, or to one who depended on a superior, rather than to her who enjoyed the greatest power and independence?—particularly with regard to affairs of general concern, and which properly fell within the province of those who assumed the lead among the Greeks? Nor were such as hoped for our aid deceived in their expectations. Our ancestors undertook a war against the Thebans; and defying Eurystheus's power, received the unhappy children of Hercules under their protection. They compelled the Thebans to deliver up the dead to their relations; and, opposing the army of Eurystheus, reinforced by the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, overcame him in battle, and stopped the progress of so dangerous an enemy.

These actions justly rendered the Athenians deserving of public esteem; but by what followed they obtained universal admiration. Unsatisfied with acquiring a precarious or tran-

Athens, takes notice of its disturbing the order of interments, and dwells upon this particular: The prudent and virtuous Phocion reckoned it his highest praise that none of the soldiers who fought under him, were deprived of the last ceremonies. (Plut. in Phoc.)

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fitory advantage over their enemies, they changed the whole face of affairs. Those who applied to them as supplicants were placed in a situation to demand their own terms; and Eurystheus, who hoped to enslave them, was himself made prisoner of war, and obliged to have recourse to the most humiliating supplications. Thus Eurystheus, haughty and insolent as he was; Eurystheus, who had ever kept in subjection that hero distinguished above humanity; that son of Jupiter, who, though a mortal, possessed the strength of a God; Eurystheus, I say, who rendered the life of Hercules a continual scene of labours, insults, and sufferings, had no sooner incurred the displeasure of our republic, than he experienced such a reverse of fortune as obliged him to yield to the children of that very hero whom he had so long persecuted, and to finish a life of pride and tyranny in the chains of servitude and dejection.

Of all the good offices which we have bestowed on the Lacedæmonians, this is the only one that it is necessary to relate. For by this alone, the descendants of Hercules, who now reign in Lacedæmon, were enabled to obtain a footing in Peloponnesus, to become masters of Argos and Messene, to build the city of Sparta, and to lay the foundation of all that power and splendour which now distinguish their posterity. Never, then, ought they to forge their origin; never ought they to invade a country which was the source of so many advantages to theirs; never ought they to endanger the safety of that state which protected the children of Hercules, nor attempt to reduce into subjection, under one branch of his family, those who saved his whole race from destruction*.

* See Isocrat. in Archidam.

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But further, without insisting on considerations of gratitude, we shall find that our pretensions are supported by the strictest principles of justice. For was it ever thought lawful among mankind, that strangers should domineer over ancient landlords? that those who received protection should command those who bestowed it? that those who implored aid should become masters of those who granted it? In a word, Thebes, Argos, and Lacedæmon, were then, as they are at present, next to Athens the first powers of Greece. But the superiority of Athens over these cities must be confessed, if we consider, that she overcame the Thebans when flushed with success, in defence of the Argives; that she conquered the Argives themselves abetted by all the power of Peloponnesus, in defence of the unfortunate sons of Hercules; and in fine, that by opposing the arms of Eurystheus, she saved the founders of Sparta, and the ancestors of those who now reign in Lacedæmon. It is impossible, I believe, to prove, by clearer evidence, her undoubted superiority over all Greece.

This is not an improper occasion to speak of our wars against the Barbarians, particularly as we are considering who shall be appointed to command our forces sent out upon any distant enterprise. The detail of all these wars would lead me too far: I shall therefore, as before, confine myself to the most remarkable. Of all barbarous nations, those who inhabit Thrace, Scythia, and Persia, are the most ancient, and the most powerful. By all these we have been attacked, and all of them we have resisted. What argument then remains for our opponents, if we shew, that as the people of Greece were always obliged to have recourse to us for protection against each other, so the Barba-

rians, who projected the conquest of Greece, have ever begun by first attempting to reduce Athens under their subjection?

Our war with the Persians is the most illustrious of all. But those which preceded it are not of less consequence, in a dispute about ancient prerogatives. During the first ages of Greece, the Thracians, headed by Eumolpus, son of Neptune, made an irruption into our territory. The inhabitants of Scythia, aided by the Amazons daughters of Mars, engaged in a similar design. Both of these, however, did not invade our country at the same time¹, but according as each of them were seized with the ambition of extending their arms over Europe. They had the same hatred against all Greece, and an equal ambition to enslave every part of it. But they discovered their sentiments only with regard to us; by contending with Athens alone, they thought to open the road to the conquest of all Greece. But neither their arms nor their policy could procure success to their designs; and though they fought against our ancestors alone, their overthrow was as complete and decisive, as if they had been opposed by the united force of Europe. The loss sustained in these engagements must have been prodigious. The memory of facts so ancient would not have been preserved, had they not been attended with very extraordinary circumstances. It is said, that of all the Amazons

¹ Chronologers place the expedition of the Thracians about one hundred and fifty years before that of the Amazons. The latter is fixed to the reign of Theseus, twelve hundred and sixty years before Christ. The Amazons had acquired a very considerable power, and their empire had lasted for two hundred years, when Theseus accompanied Hercules in an expedition against them, and carried off the beautiful Antiope. In order to avenge this insult, which neither Isocrates nor Lyfias (in his Funeral Oration) take any notice of, they joined forces with the Scythians, and marched against Athens; where they met with that fatal overthrow which is here mentioned. (Diod. Siculus, l. ii. Arrian, l. vii.)

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who were engaged in this expedition, not one returned : and that even those who remained at home, shared in the common calamity ; and with the loss of their companions, lost also their empire. As to the Thracians, they were anciently our neighbours, and bordered on the confines of our territory ; but this calamity removed them to such a distance, that great cities have been built, and populous settlements have been established, in the space which remains between us. These were noble exploits, and worthy of the people who claim the leading power in Greece.

Equally conspicuous was the behaviour of the Athenians in the wars against Darius and Xerxes. In the course of these severe but honourable contests, we were on all sides surrounded by dangers. The Persians believed themselves invincible on account of their numbers ; their allies, on account of their courage. But our ancestors subdued both their courage and their numbers ; and, every where victorious, obtained for their signal services the first prizes of valour. Soon after, we acquired the sovereignty of the sea by the consent of Greece, and without the smallest opposition from those who would now deprive us of our pre-eminence. I am not ignorant of the services which, at this time, the Lacedæmonians rendered to their country : But these services enhance the glory of our state, which gained the most distinguished advantages over so illustrious a rival. Here it may be proper to speak at greater length of the exploits of these two republics, that I may bring to your remembrance their resentment against the Barbarians, and the valour with which they opposed them. I am sensible of the difficulty attending a subject so often treated, and which

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has been the great topic of discourse in many funeral orations pronounced by the most eloquent of our citizens^u. The facts of most importance are already occupied; the least material only remain. But these, inconsiderable as they are, if to relate them may contribute to the public good, ought not to be omitted.

I regard as the authors then of the greatest benefits, and as deserving of the highest honours, those citizens who exposed their lives in the service of their country: but I think we ought not to forget the merit of the statesmen of Athens and Sparta, who, before this war, held the civil administration. It was by them that their descendants were prepared for performing such signal services; it was by them that the people were inspired with that valour which conducted them to the paths of glory, and enabled them with distinguished ardor to repel all the force of the Barbarians. These great men were far from appropriating the revenues of the state as their own, whilst they neglected the care of them as the property of others; but, on the contrary, they managed them with the same attention as their own, and abstained from enjoying them as the property of the public. They did not measure happiness by gold: but he appeared to possess the most splendid and secure fortune, who, by performing the greatest number of virtuous actions, had not only secured his own glory, but acquired a fund of honour to be transmitted as an inheritance to his descendants. It was not their ambition to excel in deeds of insolence or pride; they did not display their great abilities in contending with

^u Such as that of Pericles in the 2d Book of Thucydides, of Plato in Menexenus, of Lyfias here translated.

one another; for they deemed the hatred of their fellow-citizens an object of more terror than death itself in defence of their country. They were more ashamed of a public misfortune, than we are at present of our private crimes: They bestowed their attention in enacting wise laws, not for the regulating of private contracts, but for correcting our vices and purifying our manners. They knew that to minds improved by education, and trained up in the school of virtue, few laws are sufficient for ascertaining private rights or public privileges. Animated by zeal for the common interest, they did not abandon themselves to the ambitious pursuit of destroying their competitors, or of subjecting their fellow-citizens. The only object of competition amongst them was to acquire public confidence by meriting public approbation.

When they entered into associations, now become too common, it was not to cabal against the state, but to concert measures for the interest of the people. They managed the affairs of strangers with equal moderation. Greece, they knew required to be governed, not to be subjected; they chose therefore to be called its leaders, not its masters; to deliver, and not to enslave it. Thus attaching to them the smaller communities by good offices, and not subjecting them by violence, they ever preserved the most unalterable fidelity towards all their allies; their words were more to be depended on than our oaths at present; their engagements were sacred and inviolable; they placed their glory in their moderation, not in their power; they entertained the same regard for their inferiors, which they wished to meet with from those raised above them;

them ; and considered their particular territories as so many separate districts, while they regarded Greece as their common country and mother.

These principles, by which their behaviour was regulated, they were careful to infuse into their children ; who afterwards so illustriously displayed their effects in the war against Asia, and whose exploits neither orators nor poets have celebrated in any measure equal to their merit. The defect indeed is excusable ; for it is as difficult to praise those whose virtue transcends humanity, as those whose actions fall below it : in the one case we want a subject, and in the other we want expressions. For how shall we celebrate the men who are so far superior to the conquerors of Troy, that whereas the latter employed ten years in besieging one city, the former, in a far shorter time, triumphed over the united force of Asia ; and not only preserved the independence of their native country, but delivered Greece from subjection ? What enterprizes, what labours, what dangers would *they* decline, in order to acquire honour during their lives, who so nobly died to purchase glory to their memories ? For my own part, I am convinced that some God raised up that war in admiration of their virtues ; unwilling that such men should languish in obscurity, or die without renown, he gave them an occasion to display the illustrious merit which they possessed, and to enrol their names with ancient heroes, benefactors of mankind, the immediate offspring of the Gods. Like these, they rendered up their lives according to the law of nature and necessity ; but like these too, they left behind them the immortal memory of their virtues.

Our

Our ancestors and the Lacedæmonians, even then, were rivals; but it was a virtuous rivalship, to dispute superiority in generous exploits; a rivalship which excluded animosity and suspicion, which was consistent with mutual esteem, which engaged them not to unite with the Barbarians to subdue Greece, but to contend with each other who should shew the greatest valour in its defence.

They first signalized their courage against the troops of Darius^u, who no sooner set foot in Attica, than the Athenians,

^u Lyfias also insists upon the Persian wars, as a principal topic of praise in his Funeral Oration. It may be agreeable to the reader to compare together the touches of these great masters: But as both of them speak rather as orators than historians, it may likewise be useful to give under one view an historical deduction of the facts to which they allude.

Lyfias, with his usual simplicity, enters at once upon the praises of the warriors who had served their country. Isocrates, by an ingenious turn, refers no small part of his panegyric to those respectable magistrates and legislators, who by their wise government and institutions had prepared their countrymen for performing such signal exploits.

The first occasion of the resentment of the Persians against the Greeks happened A. M. 3504, and about sixty-four years before the birth of Isocrates. Hippias, son of Pisistratus who had usurped the government of Athens, being expelled by his countrymen, fled into Asia. The Persian Governors who had already begun to harass the Grecian colonies on the sea-coast and in the islands, offered their assistance towards re-establishing him on the throne of his father. The Athenians were summoned by order of Darius, King of Persia, to receive Hippias into their city, and to submit to his authority. This indignity, together with the vexations exercised against the Ionians, roused the whole Grecian name. The Athenians, however, discovered the greatest resentment. Having sailed into Asia Minor, they laid waste the Persian territories, and burned Sardis to the ground. Darius being occupied in other designs, could not take immediate vengeance on them for this injury, but ordered one of his attendants, every day, to put him in mind of the Athenians. This is the true reason that his subsequent expedition was directed more particularly against the Athenians than the other Greeks. Both Lyfias and Isocrates, however, account for this from a different cause, still more

ans, without waiting for the assistance of their allies, but regarding the common war as a private danger opposed by

honourable to their countrymen. Vide Herodot. l. v. and vi. Justin. l. ii. c. 9. Corn. Nepos in Miltiade.

The assistance of Athens encouraged the Ionians to persist in their revolt from Persia. They even assembled a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail, which that of Darius was unable to contend with. But, as Isocrates hints, the Athenians injudiciously abandoned their allies, who were again reduced under the Persian yoke.

A few years afterwards, A. M. 3510, Darius determined to execute his purpose of vengeance against the Athenians. An army of an hundred thousand men was sent against them, and though all Greece was interested in the cause, only a thousand Plataeans came to their assistance. The Lacedæmonians, though they had marched two hundred and ten miles in three days, were too late for the engagement. They could only congratulate the deliverers of their common country on the victory of Marathon, gained over the Persians under the conduct of Miltiades. This general, with nine others, commanded ten thousand Athenians. It had been appointed that the chief authority should change hands every day; but the colleagues of Miltiades, persuaded by the example of Aristides, voluntarily gave up to him, as the most experienced and skilful among them, their day of command. Isocrates hints at this example of moderation. Mean while the Persian fleet, consisting of several hundred sail, attempted to surprise Athens before the Greeks could come to its relief. But the conquerors at Marathon flew to defend their country, and arriving in it by a forced march, disappointed the designs of the enemy.

Their success in destroying so formidable an armament, inspired the Greeks with an enthusiasm of valour. The circumstances of the times, also, requiring and calling forth abilities of every kind, formed men in the different states of Greece not less eminent for political wisdom than for military courage. Themistocles the Athenian, foreseeing another invasion from Persia, encouraged his countrymen to increase their marine; and the better to accustom them to naval affairs, fomented their animosity against the islands which had taken part with the common enemy. Their sea-engagements against the inhabitants of the isle of Ægina, which had pretended to rival the Athenians on this element, are mentioned by both Lyfias and Isocrates.

What Themistocles had conjectured, actually came to pass. Xerxes succeeded to the throne of his father, and to his resentment against the Greeks. Ten years after the battle of Marathon, he had prepared a fleet of above twelve hundred gallies; his land forces were so numerous, that Isocrates makes the whole amount to five millions.

by their *single* force the haughty enemies of all Greece; and, though few against an innumerable army, marched forth with as much

Lyfias, without assigning a particular number, says, that the immensity of this armament may appear from the method of transporting it. Xerxes cut through the isthmus of Mount Athos, which runs in the form of a peninsula into the Archipelago. He ordered two bridges, consisting of vessels secured by anchors against the violence of the wind, to be made over a strait of the Hellespont, known at present by the name of Gallipoli, which separates Europe from Asia. Three thousand ships of burden, stored with magazines and provisions which had been four years in collecting, sailed along the coast, and supplied the army with necessaries. (Herodotus, ubi supra.)

Against these mighty preparations Athens could oppose a fleet of an hundred large gallies, besides a considerable number of vessels of three banks of oars. Themistocles, on the approach of the Persians, equipped several more; and his activity and foresight proved the safety of his country.

Xerxes arrives at Thermopylæ, a pass no more than ninety feet broad, situated at the foot of Mount Oeta, between Thessaly and Phocis, and regarded as the entrance into Greece. All the other states, except Athens, Lacedæmon, and the little republics of Thespia and Platea, either yielded, as Lyfias observes, to his promises, or were intimidated by his threats. But four thousand Lacedæmonians pretended to stop his passage at Thermopylæ. He attacked them with the bravest of his troops, which were continually repulsed, until a band of Persians having occupied an eminence which commanded the post of the Greeks, Leonidas ordered the rest of the forces to retire. He, with three hundred Spartans, determined to perish on the spot. This resolution, which on another occasion might have been reckoned obstinacy, was fortitude and firmness on the present. The Spartans perished to a man; but the generosity of their courage intimidated the Persians, of whom many thousands fell in the engagement, and raised the spirits of the Greeks who strove to emulate their valour. (Diodorus, B. II.)

On the same day that Leonidas fell at Thermopylæ, the Athenians engaged several Persian vessels at Artemisium, a promontory of the isle of Eubœa. The Greeks, both in this and some following actions, always had the advantage by sea; but hearing that the Persian army had entered into Greece, they sailed to Salamis, a small island near to Attica. The Peloponnesians also, hearing of the ravages which Xerxes committed in Phocis, and other parts as he marched along, abandoned their allies, and began to fortify the isthmus of Corinth, which is not above six miles broad. In this extremity the Athenians took the resolution which our orators are at much pains to extol. They left their city, their temples and tombs of their ancestors. All these were destroyed

much ardor as if it had not been their own lives they were going to expose. The Lacedæmonians, on their side, were

by the furious invader; yet the Athenian republic still subsisted on board the fleet at Salamis. There, or in Trezene, a small town on the coast of the Peloponnesus, their aged parents and families were transported. This was chiefly brought about by Themistocles, by whose contrivances also, the Grecian fleet engaged that of the Persians in a narrow strait, where the numbers of the latter could be of no advantage to them. The battle was fought with a fury equal to the prize contended for. The Greeks obtained a victory as signal as decisive; and a great part of the Persian fleet was destroyed. Xerxes, however, had still a sufficient number of forces for subduing Greece; but under so wretched a commander no enterprize could be successful. Themistocles, who, for the good of his country, pretended to act the part of a traitor, gave him intelligence that the Greeks intended to destroy his bridge over the Hellespont. Xerxes, intimidated at the thoughts of having his retreat cut off, retired in precipitation with the best part of his forces, leaving Mardonius, with three hundred thousand men, to finish the conquest of Greece. (Plut. in Themist.)

This general, charged with performing, with a part of the army, what the whole, united, could not accomplish, endeavoured to overcome by policy, those whom he despaired by arms to subdue. But though the Athenians had no country but their fleet, all his promises and offers could not detach them from the interest of their allies. They sent ten thousand men to reinforce the Lacedæmonian army, which, under Pausanias, obtained the victory of Plataea. This general used a similar stratagem with that of Themistocles at Salamis. Upon the ground where the battle was fought, the Persian army could not be properly drawn up, and the superiority of numbers gave them no advantage. The prize of valour was contested between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; but, in order to prevent the unhappy consequences of their dispute, they agreed by common consent to bestow it on the Plataeans.

Upon the same day that Pausanias raised a trophy at Plataea, the Grecian fleet under the command of Leotichides king of Sparta, and Xantippus the Athenian, triumphed over the remains of the Persians at Mycale, on the coast of Asia Minor. Diodorus observes that the victory was doubtful, when Leotichides made it be published that Mardonius had been conquered in Europe. The Samians and Milesians immediately changed their ensigns, the Persians are thrown into confusion, and the Asiatic Greeks join with those of Europe in taking vengeance on the common enemy. With this defeat ended the Persian expeditions into Greece; by the result of which the fate of the Western world was determined. The dispute was not, whether a certain territory should be

were no sooner informed of the invasion of Attica, than they abandoned every other care, and hastened to our defence. They could not have shewn greater alacrity, had it been their own territory that was in danger. As a proof of the ardor on both sides, and of the virtuous emulation that inspired it, we are told, that our ancestors, the same day on which they were made acquainted with the irruption of the Barbarians, flew to their frontier, attacked the enemy, gave them a total defeat, and erected a trophy of the victory; that the army of the Lacedæmonians, again, marching with the utmost expedition, in three days accomplished a journey of twelve hundred stadia: So desirous were they of being present at the engagement, and so solicitous were the Athenians to acquire the sole honour of the day, by encountering the danger without the assistance of their allies.

The Persians, a short time afterwards renewed their attempts; and Xerxes himself, forsaking his palace and his pleasures, ventured to become a general. At the head of all Asia he formed the most towering designs. For who, though inclined to exaggeration can on this subject come up to the reality? The conquest of Greece appeared to him an object below his ambition. Desiring to effect something beyond human power he projected that enterprize so celebrated of making his army sail through the land, and march over the sea: and he carried this idea into execution by piercing Mount Athos, and throwing a bridge over the Hellespont. Against a monarch so proud and enterprising, who had exe-

be subject to one prince rather than to another, but whether a free country should be enslaved by a despot; whether a nation, from which the knowledge of laws, government, and literature was destined to flow over Europe, should be subverted, and the source of the future improvement and happiness of mankind for ever cut off.

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cuted such vast designs, and who commanded so many armies, the Lacedæmonians, dividing the danger with Athens, drew themselves up at Thermopylæ. With a thousand of their own troops and a small body of their allies, they determined, in that narrow pass to resist the progress of all his land-forces. But our ancestors sailed with sixty galleys to Artemisium, and expected the whole fleet of the Barbarians. It was not a contempt of their enemies, but a noble emulation, that made both venture on an opposition so unequal and so dangerous. The Lacedæmonians, jealous of the victory at Marathon, sought to signalize themselves by an enterprize not inferior to it; and trembled, lest twice successively, Athens *alone* should procure safety to all Greece. Our ancestors, again, were eager to adorn the laurels which they had won, and to shew to all mankind, that their former victory had been acquired by their courage, and not by their fortune: they desired, likewise, to inspire the Greeks with naval as well as military glory, and to make them sensible that by sea, not less than by land, valour and skill must prevail over numbers and force. Though both nations were animated with the same spirit, they were not favoured with equal success. The Lacedæmonians perished to a man; but victorious in their minds their bodies only were unfortunate; it would be impious to say conquered, for not a man quitted his station. But the Athenians overcame the fleet which they had undertaken to oppose; and receiving notice that the enemy had become masters of the entrance into Greece, they returned home, and in this extremity took such resolutions as eclipsed the glory of all they had hitherto performed.

Their

Their allies were dispirited and dejected: The Peloponnesians, occupied for their partial safety, had begun to fortify the isthmus: the other states, except such as were too inconsiderable to excite attention, were either subdued by the Barbarians, or composed part of their army. The enemy approached Attica with a fleet of twelve hundred sail, and with land forces innumerable: no safety remained; the hopes of the Athenians were blasted; and their allies had deserted or betrayed them. In this situation the king of Persia not only offered security, but proposed to them the most alluring conditions, persuaded that, if he were assisted by our fleet, he might easily become master of Peloponnesus: But in this situation our ancestors rejected his overtures. They shewed not their resentment against the Greeks, who had betrayed them; they accepted not the offers of the Barbarians: but while they pardoned those whom fear had rendered slaves, they prepared themselves to become the protectors or the victims of liberty. It belonged, they thought, to inferior and obscure states, to be anxious for preservation; but Athens, the mistress of Greece, Athens, who had elevated herself above all other republics, must not retreat from the approach of danger: she ought always to be prepared for it; and as those individuals who have acquired glory, prefer death to dishonour, so should that state which enjoys pre-eminence, prefer ruin to servitude.

That this was their manner of thinking, appears from their conduct. For unable at the same time to oppose the enemy both by land and sea, they assembled all the inhabitants of their city, and transported them into the neighbouring island, in order to be able to act successively against the enemy's fleet and army. And where shall we find more generous
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lovers of Greece, than those who, in its defence, abandoned their abodes, suffered their city to be ravaged, their altars to be violated, their temples to be burned to the ground, and all the terrors of war to rage in their native country? Nay more; they dared *alone* to oppose a fleet of twelve hundred sail; but they were not permitted to make an attack without assistance. Their courage excited the emulation of the Peloponnesians, who perceived that if we were destroyed, they could not long be preserved; that if we were conquerors, they would become infamous; and therefore thought themselves reduced to the necessity of sharing in our dangers.

I mention not the noise and tumult and dangers which are common in naval engagements; but those facts which belong to our present subject, which prove our superiority, and confirm what I have already observed, ought not to be passed over in silence. For so great must have been the pre-eminence of power, which Athens, when her force was intire and unbroken, enjoyed over the other states, that even in her present misfortunes she furnished more ships for the sea-fight off Salamis, which was to decide the fate of Greece, than all the other states together: and there is no one, I believe, so unjust to deny, that by our victory in this engagement the war was terminated and the danger removed; and that this victory was principally owing to Athens. On whom then should we confer the command of an expedition against the Barbarians, if not on those who have hitherto been most distinguished in all the wars against them, who have often alone withstood them, and who, with the aid of others, have always carried away the palm of victory? Shall it not be given to those who preferred the safety of Greece to their own,
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who of old founded the greatest part of the Grecian cities, and of late protected and preserved them? Would it not be flagrant injustice to deprive of the first honours those who have ever exposed themselves to the greatest dangers? or to oblige those who marched forth the foremost against the enemies of all Greece, to truckle to others, and tamely to receive their commands? Thus far then, at least, all must agree in acknowledging the services of our state, and in admitting our pretensions to the superiority.

But it is objected to us, that after we had acquired the empire of the sea, we occasioned many calamities to the Greeks. We are accused, in particular, of enslaving the Melians, and of utterly destroying the Scionæans. In the first place, I am of opinion, that our severity in punishing such as were in open rebellion against us, is no proof of a bad administration. None of those who preserved their attachment and fidelity, were exposed to like misfortunes; and this is a certain proof of the wisdom of our government, and of the propriety with which we treated our allies. Besides, if any other state placed in the same circumstances had ever behaved with more lenity, our opponents would have just reason to reproach us: but since it has always been found impossible to govern the states of Greece, without punishing those who abandon the public interest, we deserve to be praised for our policy in being able so long to support our government with so few examples of severity.

All the world, I believe, will agree, that those ought to be regarded as the best managers of Greece, under whom she has

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proved most flourishing. And during our administration, private families have become more happy, and the different states more illustrious and powerful. We did not envy them on account of these advantages; we did not foment disturbances in the cities by introducing new systems of government; nor by dividing one against another, did we attempt to reduce the whole into subjection. But regarding the tranquillity of our allies as necessary to the public interest, we governed them all by the same laws; treating them as confederates, not as subjects. While we assumed the lead for the general interest, we permitted each state in particular to regulate its private affairs: and always lovers of the people, we strenuously opposed those who aimed at subjecting them. We thought it most unnatural that the many should obey the few; that those who were deficient in the goods of fortune, but inferior in no personal qualifications, should be deprived of all share in the government; that in a country common to all, one party should ingross the public honours, while another remained simple inhabitants, though born citizens, ^{by custom} should lose the rights to which all citizens are by nature entitled. For these reasons, and others not less powerful, we opposed every system of government in which one part of the community was rendered subject to the other. We established, over all Greece, the same system of policy which we ourselves enjoyed; a system which there is no need of praising at great length, when a few words are sufficient to prove its advantages. During the seventy years which it continued in force, the Greeks were equally secure against the usurpations

usurpations of tyrants, and the wrath of Barbarians^y: They lived in harmony at home, and at peace with the whole world.

And surely every person capable of reflection ought rather to thank us for our moderation, than reproach us on account of our colonies. We sent colonies, indeed, into the countries which were deserted, in order to protect them for their lawful owners, and not to aggrandize the Athenian citizens. The evidence of this is too clear to be disputed:

^y Isocrates observes, that during the seventy years that Athens maintained the pre-eminence in Greece, and obliged the other cities to obey the same political institutions by which she herself was governed, the happy effects of her superiority were every where apparent. This passage requires explication.

Before the wars with the Persians, Lacedæmon had been regarded as the first power in Greece. The magnanimity of her citizens, and the wisdom of her laws, justly entitled her to this advantage. But after Greece had owed her safety to the Athenian fleet, and when the design of delivering the Asiatic states from the tyranny of the Persians, came to be suggested by the misfortunes of the latter, the whole Grecian confederacy naturally turned their eyes towards that state which was superior in naval greatness. The equity and moderation of the Athenian commanders, Aristides and Cimon, compared with the haughty insolence of Pausanias, who, corrupted by the wealth acquired at the battle of Plataea, had abandoned the character of Greek, precipitated the downfall of Sparta. The Greeks voluntarily conferred on the Athenians the command of their united forces; a pre-eminence which Sparta boasted of having possessed for six hundred years. From this period Isocrates computes the seventy years of the Athenian administration. From the death of Pausanias, who fell a sacrifice to his pride and ambition, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, is forty-five years; which, added to the twenty-seven years during which that war continued, will amount to seventy-two years. Isocrates does not reckon the last unfortunate years during which the Athenians were so much reduced that they could not be reckoned the dominant power. As to the equity and moderation of their government during the time of their superiority, the reader may consult the discourse on the peace: He will find that they were soon corrupted by too flowing a tide of prosperity, and that the last acts of their administration were far from corresponding to so promising a beginning.

for the Athenians possessed a territory exceedingly small, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Our power was as extensive as our territory was narrow. We had twice as many gallies as all the rest of Greece; and by our skill in naval affairs, we were able to resist a force double to that number. The isle of Eubœa lay immediately below Attica. It was admirably situated for being mistress of the sea, and possessed innumerable advantages over all the other islands. But though Eubœa was as much in our power as Attica itself; and though we knew it was neither deemed dishonourable among Greeks nor Barbarians, to acquire, by conquest, a rich and extensive territory, we were never induced by considerations of advantage, to offer the smallest injury to any of those islanders; of all mankind we alone submitted to remain in a more narrow and uncomfortable situation than what we could easily, and without danger, have acquired; and had we been guided by those motives of interest, and ambition which are laid to our charge, would we not have retained the country of the Scionæans, which we gratuitously bestowed on those natives of Plataea who had fled to us for protection? Could avarice have prompted us to part with a territory so extensive and fertile, and which would have enriched us at once?

After these ample testimonies of our disinterestedness, testimonies which prove that we never intended to benefit ourselves by depriving others of their possessions, let us consider who they are that accuse us of such crimes. They are the accomplices of the Decemvirs; men who have involved their country in distress; whose cruelty and injustice are unparalleled by any instances that the history of mankind records; and who have left for posterity no new mode of violence or outrage to be attempted

attempted or imagined. Affecting attachment to the Lacedæmonians they belie by their actions their pretences; pretending to compassionate the sufferings of the Melians, they shew no pity for their fellow-citizens, whose most sacred rights they have violated. From what indignity have they abstained? into what excesses have they not been transported? They who regarded the most factious as the most faithful, the most treacherous as the most beneficent; who subjected themselves to a few slaves of Lacedæmon in order to insult their fellow-citizens, and who preferred the friendship of assassins to the lives of their own parents². Their crimes seem to have proved infectious, and to have changed the mildness of human nature into savage ferocity. If any of us before, in the midst of public happiness, suffered some slight misfortune, he had numbers to condole with him; but under the violence of their government, each absorbed in his private calamities, lost all feeling for the distress of others, or, at least, by the multitude of his own, had no leisure to think of theirs. For, what person did they spare? Who so buried in obscurity as not to be distinguished by his private misfortunes? Who so removed from public affairs, as not to share in the general calamity? And, now after the crimes which they have committed, they begin to persecute others by an unjust accusation. They have the effrontery to speak of the libels and judicial examinations which took place under the popular go-

² The learned reader will readily perceive the resemblance of this passage to the elaborate description of the seditions in Greece, described in the third Book of Thucydides. The historian takes notice, that, during those dreadful calamities, virtue and vice were confounded, and the ordinary names of things changed and totally perverted. Audacity was called courage; rage, manhood; violence, attachment to one's friends. Prudence passed for inactivity, &c.

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vernment; they, who in three months, condemned to death more citizens, without trial, than were legally condemned by us during all the time of our administration. And who can describe the banishments, the seditions, the overthrow or confusion of all laws, whether political or civil, the insults offered to our children, the dishonour heaped on our wives, the rapacity with which our estates were torn from us and plundered? It is enough to say, in general, that, if *we* behaved in any thing with too much severity, a legal decree was always sufficient to prevent the bad consequences of our imprudence; but the effects of *their* violence and injustice no remedy can ever repair.

Nor ought you to prefer, to a natural dependence on Athens, that pretended equality and freedom which exists indeed in the treaties and agreements, but which has no foundation among the states of Greece^a. For who can desire the continuance of such a situation as the present, when pirates command the sea, and ruffians are masters of the land? When the citizens fight within their walls instead of opposing their foreign enemies? When more states are enslaved than before the making of the peace? and when those who still inhabit their native country are more miserable than the exiles? because, on account of the frequency of unhappy revolutions, the former tremble at being involved in those calamities from which the latter hope to be delivered. And so far is Greece from enjoying any degree of the freedom and independence stipulated in that delusive peace, that some cities are subject to tyrants, others are go-

^a Isocrates speaks of the peace of Antalcidas, for an account of which see the Discourse on the History of the Greeks, prefixed to this work. As this infamous treaty was brought about by the intrigues of the Lacedæmonians, the orator takes a pleasure in comparing it with the glorious peace concluded about fifty years before, under the auspices of Athens.

verned by viceroys, while the rest are either torn by faction and sedition, or enslaved by the Persians; those proud invaders, who, in the height of their insolence and power, formerly passed over into Europe, but who found in Athens so vigorous an adversary, that, returning from their expedition with disgrace, they suffered their own territories to be wasted without daring to defend them. They were reduced into such humiliation and distress, they who had crossed our seas with twelve hundred sail, that they durst not bring one ship of war beyond Phaelis; that they were glad, by the most mortifying concessions, to purchase a dishonourable peace, and despairing of any speedy revolution in their favour, waited in anxious and uncertain hopes of ever repairing their misfortunes.

That these advantages over them were owing to the Athenians, Greece may be too well convinced, from what hath since befallen her. The æra of our degradation, and of her calamities, is the same; for no sooner had our disaster in the Hellespont promoted others to the chief command, than the fleet of the Barbarians proved victorious; the Persians became masters of the sea, obtained possession of most of the islands, made a descent on Laconia, took Cythera by force, and scouring with their ships the sea of Peloponnesus, covered all the coast of that country with desolation.

We shall be more sensible of the importance of this revolution, if we compare the last treaty between Greece and the Barbarians with that which was concluded under the auspices of Athens. At the latter period we set bounds to their empire, laid part of their country under contribution, and prohibited them from the free navigation of the sea. At present, the king of Persia takes the lead in all our affairs, commands us to pursue that conduct
which

which is most agreeable to his interest, and, except that he does not send his nobles to be our governors, what is wanting to complete his authority? Is he not the arbiter of war and peace? Are not all our measures subject to his controul? Do we not run to him with our accusations against one another, as to our umpire and lord? And we call him the *great king*, as if we were his slaves. In the intestine divisions which tear us to pieces, is he not the common hope of both parties; he who would with pleasure see the destruction of both? These reflections are sufficient to excite your impatience under the present government of Greece, and to make you desire the re-establishment of our superiority: they are sufficient to rouse your indignation against the Lacedæmonians, who involved you in a war under the specious pretence of delivering Greece, but in the end have abandoned so considerable a part of it to the Barbarians. They have detached from our republic the inhabitants of Ionia, which was originally planted by our citizens, and which has been often defended by our arms. They have betrayed the Ionians to those very Barbarians who opposed their first establishment, and with whom they ever lived in a state of hostility and war. Pretending to think it unjust that we should exercise over these colonies even a legal jurisdiction, they discover no uneasiness at seeing them reduced into servitude, compelled to pay the most arbitrary contributions, obliged to deliver their citadels into the hands of the Persians, and in addition to these national calamities, to lament as individuals their private distress, and to suffer such insults and indignities as even our domestic slaves are not exposed to; and, what is the extremity of wretchedness, to be obliged to fight for their own slavery, to combat against their deliverers, to expose themselves in the field,

field, where they perish if conquered, and where, if victorious, they only strengthen the chain that binds them. Whom can they accuse as the authors of all this misery but the Lacedæmonians; who, though possessing the means of relieving their ancient allies, allow them to be shamefully insulted, and view with a cruel indifference the Persian raising the fabric of his power on the ruins of their happiness and grandeur? The Lacedæmonians were formerly the dread and the bane of tyrants; they once protected free and popular governments, but now they fight against liberty, and are the champions of despotism and oppression. They have subverted the state of the Mantineans; even since the conclusion of the peace, they have seized the Cadmea by violence; they are at war with the Olynthians and Phliasians: but Amyntas king of Macedon, Dionysius tyrant of Sicily, and in fine the Barbarian lord of all Asia;—these enemies of the human race, they assist and aggrandize.

Is it not most absurd that those who take the lead in a free confederacy, should endeavour to subject ^{such an immense} a number of men, under the dominion of one? That they should not allow even the most considerable states to remain independent, but attempt either to reduce them into servitude, or to involve them in the greatest calamities? and what is still more intolerable, that those who think themselves deserving of the first rank in Greece, should daily molest, harass, and insult the Greeks, while on every occasion they co-operate with the Barbarians? Let it not be thought I am carried away by resentment against the Lacedæmonians, because, in a discourse intended for reconciling us with one another, I speak with some warmth and severity; for I do not express myself in this manner in

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order

order to render them odious, but to effect a ^{change in} change in their principles and their conduct, which it will be impossible to reform, unless we have the courage to expose them: for you ought to remember, that as it is the part of an accuser or enemy to calumniate and to reproach, so it is the duty of a counsellor and a friend to censure, to admonish, and to exhort; nor are the same words delivered with a different intention, to be received with the same sentiments. Besides, we have too just reasons for blaming the Lacedæmonians, when they are more ambitious to enslave their neighbours, than to promote the general interest of Greece, or to render the Barbarians the common slaves of all the Greeks.

This patriotic design, however, is an object more worthy of those who are magnanimous by nature, and not merely elated by fortune, than raising contributions on the islanders who are deserving of compassion: For these poor men from the narrowness of their territories, are under the necessity of cultivating even their mountains, while the inhabitants of the continent, living in the midst of plenty, leave the greatest part of their land unlaboured, and acquire immense wealth from the small portion of it which they cultivate.

Were any stranger to become a spectator of our ordinary behaviour, I am convinced he would imagine us to be madmen. We contend for trifles amongst ourselves; we waste and destroy our own pitiful possessions; but we neglect the fertile plains of Asia, which lie open to our invasion. The Barbarian knows that nothing is more for his interest than a continuance of our divisions, and therefore he fomented them; but we are so far from disturbing the order of his affairs, or from raising seditions among his subjects, that we do not

even avail ourselves of the commotions which fortune has stirred up, but, on the contrary, we endeavour to quell them. Of the two armies in Cyprus, we suffer the Persian to employ the one in besieging the other; though both be originally from Greece, and though the island which has revolted from him be well-disposed towards the Athenians, and actually submits itself to the protection of Lacedæmon^b. The best of his infantry, and the soldiers under Tiribazus, are from Greece; the fleet is manned chiefly by Ionians. All these would with more pleasure be employed in ravaging Asia, than in fighting for small advantages against one another. But we are far from availing ourselves of this disposition of affairs; and, disputing about the Cyclades, these inconsiderable islands, we inadvertently betray to the Barbarian our numerous fleet, and our powerful armies. He is master of these; he threatens those, he lays snares for others; and all of us he equally and with good reason despises. He has at length attained that object at which his predecessors strove in vain to arrive: he is acknowledged king of Persia both by us and by the Lacedæmonians. He is so far master of Greece that he demolishes some of her cities, erects fortresses in others; and all this he performs, not by his own power, but through our supine neglect.

Yet there are some men amongst us who magnify the power of Persia, and who, in order to prove it irresistible, are continually rehearsing the revolutions which it has occasioned in Greece. This manner of speaking ought surely to forward the expedition in question: for, if while we remained at peace with one another, and while the affairs of Persia were in a

^b The reader will find the facts here alluded to in the funeral oration of Evagoras.

state of tumult and disorder; if in this case, I say, the Persian monarch was hardly to be resisted, how much ought we to dread that period, when the divisions of his empire shall be healed, its power re-established, and Greece, as at present, enfeebled by its usual dissensions?

But though those who speak in this manner concur with the design of my discourse, they by no means form a proper estimate of the force of Persia. If they could prove that the Great King ever triumphed over the united strength of Athens and Lacedæmon, they might have some reason for now attempting to intimidate us: but as this cannot be pretended, it is no proof of his power, that, while we are at war with each other, he has been able to turn the scale in favour of either party. On such critical occasions, the most inconsiderable force has sometimes a prodigious effect. The Chians, for example, gave the command of the sea to whichever of us they chose to unite with. We must not estimate the power of the king therefore by what he has done as an auxiliary, but by the wars in which he was principally concerned. And, first, when Egypt revolted, what vigour did he employ against those who had become masters of it? Did he not send forth the most distinguished of his captains, Acrocomas, Tithraustes, and Pharnabazus? Did they not, after remaining three years, during which they were oftener conquered than victorious;—did they not at length retire with so much disgrace, that the insurgents, not satisfied with acquiring independence for themselves, began to subdue their neighbours? Again, in the war against Evagoras, has he been favoured with better success? Evagoras is the king of one city in Cyprus: his interests were abandoned by the Greeks, in the last treaty of peace: inhabiting an island,
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his only safety seemed to be in his fleet; but it was conquered: and yet Evagoras, with three thousand men, has for six years resisted the king of Persia; and, if we may judge by former examples, his enemy will grow weary of the war before Evagoras becomes unable to resist him. Such is the extreme weakness and debility of all the efforts of the Persian.

In the war of Cnidus he was assisted by the ancient allies of Lacedæmon, who, on account of the severity with which they had been treated by that state, appeared even with ardor in his cause. He met with good offices also from Athens; he had Conon for his general, one of the most active, faithful, and experienced commanders that ever appeared in Greece: but notwithstanding this powerful assistance, his fleet was three years blocked up, by one hundred gallies, and his soldiers were defrauded of fifteen months pay. As far, therefore, as depended on the Persians, this armament would have been dispersed: the urgency of the danger, and the alliance entered into at Corinth, could scarce determine them to risk a sea-engagement in which they were at length conquerors through the bravery of their allies. Such are the great, the illustrious, the royal exploits which have been so often magnified by the exaggerations of men who, in order to intimidate their fellow-citizens, make a false display of the Persian power. I cannot surely be accused of using partial examples; I would not throw a veil over the glory of the Persians, and take notice only of such transactions as disgrace them: for I might mention that Dercyllidas with a handful of men deprived them of Æolia; that Draco, who took Atarneus prisoner, having collected three thousand soldiers, ravaged the plains of Mysia; that

that Thimbron, with a number little more considerable, laid waste all Lydia ; that Agesilaus, in fine, who commanded the army of Cyrus, acquired possession of almost the whole territory on this side the river Halys.

Nor are the disciplined guards, who attend on the person of the King, or the militia in the interior parts of the country, more warlike than the inhabitants of the coasts. This is proved by the experience of those who accompanied Cyrus in his expedition. I omit other battles in which the Persians were conquered : I allow that they were often disturbed by seditions, and were not hearty in a war carried on against the brother of their King. But even after the death of Cyrus, and when they were united among themselves, the inhabitants of Asia behaved so shamefully that there is no longer room for celebrating their courage. They had to cope with six thousand Greeks, not chosen men ; on the contrary, of such dubious characters, that they could find no employment in their own country. They were strangers to the roads, deserted by their allies, betrayed by their companions, and deprived of the general who conducted them. Yet in this situation, these Greeks were so formidable to the monarch of Persia, that despairing of his affairs, and having no confidence in his own troops, he put to death the principal officers of the enemy, by a violation of the faith of treaties ; choosing rather to provoke the Gods by impiety, than to face the Greeks in the field. This treachery, however, did not produce the effect expected from it : the soldiers bore their misfortune with firmness, and remained together without disorder. Tissaphernes was then sent with the Persian cavalry to harass them

them in their retreat. But the Greeks, though exposed during the whole journey to the incursions of these troops, seemed not to regard them as enemies but as a convoy; and dreading nothing but wilds and deserts, they considered themselves as fortunate when they were accompanied with the forces of Persia^c. In a word, though engaged in an expedition which had not for its object plunder, or to desolate a few villages, but to change the government and to shake the throne of Persia, they returned home with more safety than if they had been ambassadors sent to treat of an alliance. Under every view then, and in all situations, the Persians are dastardly and contemptible. The inhabitants on their coast have often been vanquished; those who invaded Europe severely suffered for their arrogance; they were either miserably put to death, or they saved themselves disgracefully: and last of all, in sight of the palace of their kings, their behaviour was only fit to excite ridicule.

These events proceed not from accident, but from natural causes. It is impossible that with such an education, and under such a government as they possess, the Persians should ever distinguish themselves for valor, or any other virtue. Can institutions like theirs form the general or the foldier? The militia are a mob without discipline, unacquainted with military exercises or dangers; too effeminate for war, but trained to slavery with more care than our

^c Because they were then sure of getting provisions.—The character of the Persians had extremely degenerated from what it was in the time of the Elder Cyrus. See Xenophon's Cyropædia. The description which Isocrates here gives of their manners, and the reasons by which he accounts for their corruption, may be considered as an abridgment of what Xenophon relates in his Anabasis and Greek History.

meanest domestics. The nobles who enjoy the first offices, know nothing of the virtues of the citizen; they have no idea what it is to live with a sense of justice, of equality, of moderation; but, while they insolently oppress their inferiors, they fawn upon those above them. Their riches have plunged them into pleasures which render their bodies one mass of effeminacy and corruption: Slavery has depressed their minds, eradicated every sentiment of virtue, and left them timidity and baseness for their only principles of action. Vile retainers of a court, they prostrate themselves on the ground; they torture their invention to discover new methods of debasing human nature; adoring their king, they call him a divinity, and thus provoke the Gods by offering impious honours to a mortal.

The Satraps, who live at the extremities of the empire, rival the manners of the courtiers, theirs being no less infamous. Timid enemies, and treacherous friends, they have never learned to observe a medium between insolence and meanness; and while they treat their dependents with scorn, they crouch to those who are bold enough to defy them. They maintained, at their own expence, for eight months, the army of Agesilaus; for twice that time they defrauded their allies of their just pay: they distributed an hundred talents among those who deprived them of the city Cisthene; but the soldiers who assisted them in Cyprus, they treated worse than prisoners. Without entering upon particulars, I ask, in a word, Who has not gained by being their enemy? Who has not suffered by being their friend? Did not Conon fall a sacrifice to the services which he rendered them in demolishing the power of the Lacedæmonians? Was he not imprisoned and put to death? Was not Themistocles, on the contrary,

trary, who bravely conquered them in a sea-engagement in defence of Greece, thought worthy of the most magnificent rewards^d? What regard then, shall we pay to their friendship, which is ever attended with misfortunes? What dread ought we to have of their enmity, which leads them to cares and to honour those whom they have reason to dislike?

Which of us have they not injured? When were they without entertaining some insidious project against Greece? Is there any one of our institutions which they do not abhor? In the last war, did they not violate our altars, burn the images of our Gods, ravage and demolish the temples which contained them? The Ionians, on this occasion, gave an example worthy of praise: they pronounced imprecations against those who should rebuild their ancient temples, or erect new ones in their place. It was not that they feared the expence with which this must have been attended, but in order to preserve an eternal memorial of the impiety of the Barbarians; to shew to latest posterity the ravages which they had committed, and to prove, that as the Persians fought not only against our persons, but against our religion, and had dared to violate the temples of our gods, they no longer deserved any confidence or trust, but ought to be for ever watched, suspected, and abhorred.

I could mention many similar instances of resentment in our own state against the Persians. Our hatred of other nations with whom we had been at war, always terminated with a peace: but so inveterate is our odium against the Asiatics, that we detest them even while they serve us. Our ancestors

^d Thucydides, Book I. tells us, that Themistocles, according to the Asiatic custom, had the revenues of whole countries assigned him for furnishing the expence of his household.

have put many persons to death for being suspected of favouring the Medes: Even at present, before any business is begun in our assemblies, we denounce execrations against such as shall be guilty of this treachery. On account of the Persians the Eumolpidæ debar from the mysteries all other Barbarians as murderers. Our antipathy to them is so natural, that, of all fables, we hear with the greatest pleasure those which speak of Persia and of Troy; because in these we learn their misfortunes. We recite hymns which celebrate our wars with the Barbarians; but we lament with elegies even our victories over the Greeks. We sing the first in our days of rejoicing, and the second in our days of distress. The poems of Homer, I am persuaded, owe some share of their reputation to his celebrating so nobly those who fought against the Barbarians. It is on this account that our ancestors have given them so illustrious a place at the literary contests, and in the education of our youth: it is to keep alive our resentment against constant and unrelenting foes; and by exciting our admiration for the characters of those who conquered Troy, to inspire us with an ardor for emulating their exploits.

There are many reasons, then, which ought to determine us to march against the Persians; but that which should be the most powerful, is the present conjuncture, for none can be more favourable for such an enterprize. It will be shameful to neglect this opportunity, and to regret it when past. For what situation can we conceive more advantageous than the present for undertaking a Persian war? Have not Egypt and Cyprus revolted from the Great King? Phœnicia and Syria, are they not desolated? Tyre, upon which he had so much dependance, is it not in the hands of his enemies?

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The greatest part of the cities in Cilicia belong to our friends; the rest may be easily reduced. Lycia never was subject to the Persians. Hecatomnus, governor of Caria, has been long impatient for a revolt; and will join with us whenever we take up arms. That part of Asia which extends from Cnidus to Sinope is inhabited by Greeks, whom it is not necessary to persuade to declare war: they are already so well disposed for this measure, that we have only not to counteract them.

When Greece is supported by so powerful assistance, and Asia invaded from so many quarters, is it not easy to infer the consequence? Our enemy has been conquered by small divisions of our force; can he ever oppose it when united? The matter then stands thus: if we allow him to strengthen the cities on the coast by augmenting their garrisons, this will speedily bring over to his interest Samos, Rhodes, Chios, and other isles near the continent of Asia: but if we anticipate his designs, and at once render ourselves masters of these cities, it is probable that the inhabitants of Lydia, Phrygia, and even of more distant provinces, intimidated by the neighbourhood of our forces, will think proper to declare themselves in our favour. Let us then make no delay, but avoid, by our present activity, the misfortune which happened to our ancestors. They were too late for the Barbarians; and having abandoned their allies, they, in consequence of this fatal mistake, were obliged to fight against the Persians upon very unequal terms. But if they had pursued the measures to which I now exhort you, if they had been beforehand with their adversary, and had transported the united force of Greece into Asia, they might have conquered the different provinces of that continent successively. For it is evi-

dent, that in a war with different countries which lie at a great distance from one another, there should never be time allowed for their assembling their forces together. But our ancestors, paying no attention to this maxim, committed an original error, which nothing but their superior courage could have remedied. If we are wise, we shall avoid their mistake; and taking proper measures from the beginning immediately transport our forces into Lydia and Ionia. We know that the king retains these countries, and indeed all Asia, in an involuntary subjection; ruling them by the terror of his arms, and the number of his troops. If we, therefore, collect an army more powerful than his, which may be done when we please, the inhabitants of Asia will submit without resistance; and we shall acquire, and peaceably enjoy the possession of all that continent. This is a worthy prize; this is an object more noble than the pre-eminence for which we at present contend.

It is just that the age in which we live should be yet distinguished by some glorious enterprise, that those who have been so long oppressed, may, in some period of their lives, know what it is to be happy. This unfortunate generation has already paid its just tribute to misery. What calamities hath it not suffered? To those inseparably connected with human nature, we have added others still worse. Many citizens have perished unjustly in the bosom of their country: others have been obliged to wander with their wives and children through inhospitable lands: and others, still more wretched, have been compelled by a fatal necessity to carry arms against their friends for those who oppressed them. But these events do not move your compassion; and while you lament
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the unfortunate heroes of fiction whose history is represented on your theatres, you are so insensible to real calamities, the unhappy consequences of war, and the miserable fruits of your ambition, that you take more delight in the evils which you have inflicted on one another, than even in your own prosperity. I shall be derided perhaps, for pitying the misfortunes of individuals in an age when Italy has been ravaged, Sicily reduced into slavery, many states subjected to the Barbarians, and all the rest of Greece placed in the most imminent danger; yet I cannot help expressing my surprise that those with whom the administration of the public affairs of Greece was entrusted, should neither have foreseen these evils, nor taken proper measures to prevent them. Had these ministers been deserving of the rank which they held, they would have laid aside every other project, and set themselves to advise and exhort us to undertake a distant expedition. Perhaps they might have succeeded; if they had not, they would have left their counsels behind them, as honourable testimonies to posterity*.

But the leaders of Greece seem to be wholly occupied about lesser objects: They leave to us†, who have no share in the government, the care of your more important concerns: The narrower therefore the views of our magistrates, the more extensive ought to be those of the people. Let them by their private

* Literally, as responses of oracles. The ancients superstitiously believed the dying capable of foretelling future events. The magistrates, says Isocrates, would have left behind them their speeches in favour of a Persian war as their last words.

† Himself, Gorgias, and other sophists, who, though unemployed by the state, cultivated politics as a science, and endeavoured by their writings to persuade their countrymen to pursue the most advantageous measures.

wisdom contrive to put an end to our present troubles. The treaties of peace are insufficient for their purpose : they may retard, but cannot prevent our misfortunes ; and whenever we find a favourable occasion of committing any signal injury against one another, we shall be ready still to embrace it. But we stand in need of some more durable plan of accommodation, which will for ever put an end to our hostilities, and unite us by the lasting ties of mutual affection and fidelity. The method I propose is both simple in theory and easy of execution. Never can there be a lasting peace established among the Greeks until they agree in making war against the Barbarians. It is then, that, animated by the same hopes, excited by common fears, having their resentment directed against the same object, and their affections confined within the bounds of their country, they will be cemented by the most indissoluble attachment. It is then, that the great cause of our animosity will be removed,—that miserable indigence, which destroys every sentiment of nature or of friendship, which engenders strife, which kindles war, which inflames sedition ;—and it is then, that, no longer containing the seeds of dissolution, or decay, our union will be as lasting as sincere. Let us determine, therefore, at length, to carry the war into Asia, and to draw this one benefit, at least, from our domestic dissensions, that we shall make use of the experience acquired in them, in fighting against the Barbarians.

There are some, perhaps, who think that the late accommodation will prove an obstacle to the war. Shameful accommodation ! in which the Greeks who are left free are confessed to owe their freedom to the Barbarians, while such as are rendered slaves, attribute their slavery to the Lacedæmonians in particular, and to all in general who were parties in that infamous pacification.

pacification. Shall we ratify a peace so fatal to national honour, a peace of which the king of Persia is guardian, and in which he appears as the protector of the Greeks?

But the most unreasonable and absurd part of our conduct is, that we observe only that clause in the treaty which is most disadvantageous to us: the other, by which the islands near the continent, and the cities in Europe, should have acquired freedom and independence, has been long since violated, and is in vain engraved on our pillars. The treaty in question, therefore, has been enforced only so far as it engaged us to abandon our allies, and tended to our disgrace. We have fulfilled that article, which we ought to have cancelled; which we should not have suffered to remain even for one day; which we ought to have regarded as a mandate and not as an article in the contract. For who is ignorant, that a contract should promote the mutual advantage of those who enter into it? but a mandate is the command of a superior, supported by force, and often founded on injustice? We have good reason, therefore, to reproach those who negotiated this peace, as traitors to the interests of their country, and corrupt tools to the Barbarian. For upon whatever principles it had been judged proper to determine our differences, whether by settling every thing on the same footing as before the commencement of the war, or by allowing each of us to retain possession of our conquests, it is plain that matters should have been adjusted for the mutual interest of the contracting parties. But our plenipotentiaries procured no benefit either for us or the Lacedæmonians, they ceded all Asia to the king of Persia, as if we had fought in order to acquire territories for him; or, as if we had been creatures of a day, and the kingdom of Persia of wonderful antiquity: whereas,

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in fact, that kingdom has but of late become considerable, and we, from the remotest ages, have been the leaders of Greece.

In order to perceive more sensibly the ambition of the Persian, and the disgrace heaped upon the Greeks, let us suppose the world to be divided into Asia and Europe. By this peace all Asia was allotted to the Barbarian, as if he had not been treating with men, but dividing the universe with Jupiter. This shameful treaty he has compelled us to engrave on pillars in our temples. It stands there for a trophy more honourable than those acquired in battle, which mark the accidental success of a day; because it decides concerning the whole fortune of the war, and proves the disgraceful overthrow of all Greece.

If we are not altogether insensible to shame, we ought on this occasion to be moved with indignation, and to concert such measures for revenging past injuries, as may prevent those to which we are still exposed. How unjust and absurd, while we use the Barbarians for our domestic slaves, to suffer our allies to become the public slaves of the Barbarians! Can we reflect, without despising ourselves, that, during the Trojan war, all Greece united in resenting the violation of one woman, and persisted in hostility until they had destroyed the whole nation of the offender; whereas we, in the midst of public outrages take no measures for a public defence, though we have it in our power to take the most complete vengeance on our enemies? Such a war should, in every view, be preferred to a peace: it would be a public show, a pompous procession rather than a military expedition. The lovers of peace and of arms would find it equally advantageous. To the former,

former, it would ensure the peaceable enjoyment of their fortunes; and to the latter, it would afford an opportunity of enriching themselves at the expence of their enemies. In all respects it would prove beneficial; and from every motive we ought to undertake it. For laying aside interest or ambition, were we to conduct ourselves by the strictest principles of justice against whom ought we to declare war if not against those who have so often injured us; who at present lay snares for our destruction; who, ever since they were a nation, have retained against us the most implacable resentment? Against whom ought we to feel indignation, if we are still susceptible of manly feelings, but against those who enjoy the most valuable possessions, and are of all men the most unworthy of them? Whom then ought we, both from interest and from honour, to assail, if not our natural and hereditary enemies, the lords of the richest and most extensive territory upon earth, and of the whole world the least capable of defending it?

The inferior cities of Greece will not murmur to contribute for the maintenance of whatever forces may be requisite. The ordinary contributions give them just uneasiness, because we employ these against ourselves. But I am persuaded there are few citizens who will choose to remain at home, in proportion to those who will desire to serve in the field. For what young man, what old man is so faint-hearted or ungrateful, as to decline an expedition, conducted by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, undertaken for the liberty of our allies, to support the cause of Greece, to take vengeance on the Barbarians? What praises and glory and renown will accompany those who distinguish themselves in so honourable a war? If the victorious heroes of Troy, who conquered but one city,

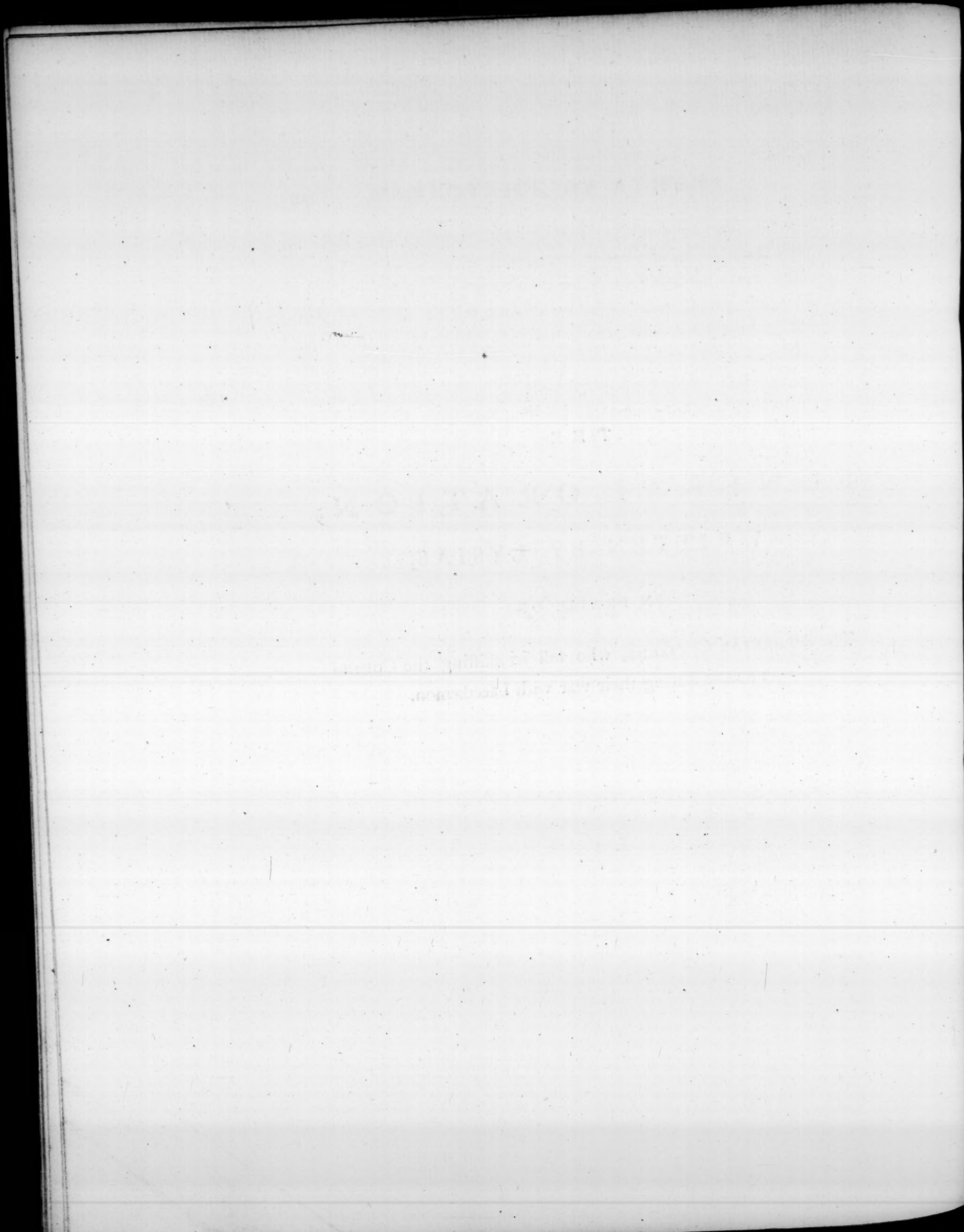
be still held in remembrance, what encomiums will be bestowed on those who subdue all Asia? Is there an orator or poet who will not prefer their panegyrick to every other subject? Who will not strive to adorn this theme, that he may thus immortalize his own talents with the virtue of the conquerors?—

But I begin to think differently from what I did in the beginning of this discourse: I then imagined that it was possible to speak suitably to the grandeur of the subject; but I am now sensible how far I have fallen short of it. Several things also, which I proposed to observe, have escaped my memory. But do you yourselves consider the advantages of carrying the war into the continent, and of returning into Europe with all the wealth and happiness of Asia. Think it not sufficient for you to hear and to approve what I have here advanced: those who possess active talents must vie with one another in effecting a reconciliation between Athens and Lacedæmon: those who court literary fame must abandon the study of deposits, and others equally uninteresting; they must pursue the career which I have followed, and endeavour to outstrip me in the race. Let them consider, that such as make great professions ought not to stoop to mean objects; that they ought not to employ themselves on inferior matters, which, even to prove, would be attended with small advantage; but that, making a proper distinction between the subjects of eloquence, they should select and cultivate those only, ^{by} which, ~~if~~ they ~~succeed~~ ^{may} ~~in, will~~ establish their own fame, and extend the glory of their country.

THE
FUNERAL ORATION;
WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

IN PRAISE OF

The ATHENIAN CITIZENS, who fell in assisting the CORIN-
THIANS during their war with Lacedæmon.



INTRODUCTION.

IT was an ancient and sacred custom among the Athenians to bestow particular honours on the memory of such citizens as had perished in war. The most important, because the most lasting mark of respect conferred on them, was the funeral oration spoken by public authority in their praise. Some person, as eminent for his character and virtues as distinguished by his eloquence, was appointed for executing this ceremony, which, though it be generally supposed to have begun in the time of Pericles, was probably an institution of the first ages of the Athenian republic. Thucydides², on whose words the common opinion has been established, says nothing to the contrary; and even seems to insinuate that Pericles, when in the first year of the Peloponnesian war he celebrated the obsequies of such of his fellow-citizens as had fallen in the battle, did no more than comply with the hereditary customs of his country.

Of all these orations (the number of which must have been immense, because the anniversary of such public funerals was regularly observed with a repetition of the same ceremonies), four only have come down to us: that of Pericles above-mentioned, preserved in the second book of Thucydides; that of Plato in Menexeno; that of Lysias which we are going to consider more particularly; and the funeral oration pronounced by Demosthenes in honour of the Athenians who fell in the battle of Chæronea. The discourse of Lysias is the longest of the four, and as it contains exactly what was said on the occasion,

² Book II.

it is more interesting to posterity, than either that of the historian or the philosopher : It is likewise the only performance of Lyfias in the panegyricai kind, that has been preserved. For his oration delivered at Olympia, in which it seems probable that he handled a fimilar fubject, is unfortunately loft; and is only taken notice ^b of, on account of the freedom with which he arraigned the cruelty and injuflice of Dionyfius of Syracufe, and endeavoured to exclude fo odious a tyrant from the honour of having his wretched verfes recited in an afsembly of freemen.

The funeral oration, now tranflated, was fpoken after the interment of the Athenian citizens who fell in what is called the Corinthian war ⁱ. This name is beftowed on a war in which almoft all Greece was engaged ^k, becaufe it begun with a fedition in Corinth three hundred and ninety-four years before Chrift, and was carried on eight years with the utmoft animofity between the oppofite factions in that ftate. While the Lacedæmonians affifting the weaker party which oppofed the meafures of the government incurred the odium of fighting againft a city which had continued a faithful ally to them during the war of Peloponnefus, the Athenians took the oppofite fide, fought for the great body of the Corinthians, and thus enjoyed the advantage of feeming to pity the diftreffs even of their enemies. The luftre acquired by engaging in fo honourable a caufe was ftill farther encreafed by the glory and fuccefs of their arms. Corinth, with the reft of Peloponnefus, was delivered from the tyranny of Sparta, and invited to fhare in the liberty of Athens.

^b Diod. Siculus, Book XIV.
on the Hiftory of Greece.

ⁱ Diod. *ibid.*

^k See Difcourfe

FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS. 79

Lysias does not confine himself, however, to celebrate the praises of those who died in so glorious a warfare. He undertakes, according to the custom generally practised in such funeral orations, to relate the military exploits of the Athenians from the remotest ages of their society. The memory of events so ancient, and preserved only by tradition, was still fresh and strong in the minds of their posterity, and tended to give a particular and happy cast to the character of that people. For as the barren territory of Attica was less exposed than the rest of Greece to the invasions and violence of the Barbarians who anciently planted settlements there, the inhabitants enjoyed a tranquillity favourable to the progress of the human mind in arts, police, and humanity. These advantages, which prevented them not from being as warlike as their neighbours, taught them to carry on war with greater skill. Thus did they excel the other Greeks both in generosity and prowess; and the recording of their ancient transactions, while it gratified the vanity, excited the emulation of their descendants. In fact, what are all those events which Lysias is at such pains to describe, but examples of violence restrained by justice, of innocence protected, ambition humbled, and liberty defended against oppression?

When the orator comes to relate the second war with Persia under Xerxes, he rises above his ordinary strain of writing. Animated by the generous sentiments which then inspired his countrymen, he describes their actions with an interest and a force that warms and elevates the mind. The mixture of humanity and firmness, compassion and magnanimity, which runs through this discourse is the sublime of sentiment; as that admirable

mirable selection of circumstances which display the glorious dangers of the Athenians, as well as their extensive and happy effects, is the sublime of description. It is unnecessary to point out the art and address with which the orator prepares his audience for listening to him with favour; and that heart must be insensible which is not affected with the easy flow of genuine pathetic eloquence with which he concludes.

THE
FUNERAL ORATION;

WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

IN PRAISE OF

The ATHENIAN CITIZENS, who fell in assisting the CORINTHIANS, during their war with Lacedæmon.

IF it were within the reach of eloquence to do justice to the merit of those who lie here interred, the State, doubtless, would be blameable in allowing to the orators only a few days for their preparation. But since it is altogether impossible to compose a discourse adequate to so glorious a theme, I must rather admire the penetration of our magistrates, who, by assigning a short time for the execution of a task which could never be completely accomplished, have thus endeavoured to save the reputation of the speakers, and to cover them from a multitude of reproaches¹. It is my ambition, therefore, to rival, not the glory which your warriors have acquired, but the eloquence with which your orators have displayed it. The actions of the former afford a subject of panegyric which all the praises of the latter can never fully exhaust; in every age, over seas and land, wherever mankind, subject to calamity and affliction, stand in need of

¹ The court of the Areopagus appointed the speakers who should pronounce these funeral orations, and fixed the time for delivering them. (Thucydides, Book II.)

M

tender

82 FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

tender sympathy and generous assistance, the virtues of the humane and the brave will be admired; their exploits will be recorded, and their name and glory will remain. But before I endeavour to do justice to such as have lately aspired at so distinguished a renown, I must, according to custom, relate the ancient dangers of our forefathers, not drawing my information from written record, but from venerable traditionary fame, treasured in the heart and memory of every good citizen. It is the duty of all mankind to be mindful of our ancestors, to celebrate them with odes, to extol them with panegyrics, to honour them especially on such occasions as the present, that by praising the actions of the dead they may excite the virtues of the living.

The Amazons, daughters of Mars, and inhabiting the banks of the Thermodon, were of old the only people in all those countries who wore armour of steel. They were the first who mounted on horseback, by which they gained the double advantage in war, of overtaking the enemy in their flight, and of eluding their pursuit. Having thus overcome by education the weakness of nature, they were estimated rather by their courage than by their sex, and were deemed to excel men more in the vigour of their minds, than they fell short of them in the conformation of their bodies. After vanquishing all the neighbouring nations, and learning by report the glory of our ancestors, they assembled the most powerful of their allies, and with high expectations marched against this city. Here they first met with enemies capable to resist them: when matched with our ancestors they appeared in all the natural timidity of their sex, and shewed themselves less women in their external appearance than in their weakness and cowardice.

regarded the liberty of all as the surest bond of domestic union, and as the best defence against external violence. Wild animals, said they, must be governed by force; men should dread no power but that of the law, and obey no voice but that of reason. With such an origin and such sentiments, they performed the most wonderful exploits, in commemoration of which, their descendants, not despairing of being able to rival their virtue, have erected the most conspicuous monuments.

Unaided they twice exposed their lives for the general safety. The king of Asia, unsatisfied with his present army of five hundred thousand men, hoping by this mighty force to reduce Europe under his subjection. As he knew the superiority of Athens, and that its inhabitants, vanquished by force or gained over by persuasion, would leave the rest of Greece an easy conquest, he made a descent on Marathon; thinking to embarrass and confound our ancestors, if, before they had time to concert measures for repelling the invasion, they should be obliged at once to come to a decisive engagement. He was convinced also, from a knowledge of their character, that though he should direct his attack towards any other state, he would have to contend not only with its inhabitants but also with our ancestors, who, instantly taking the alarm, would generously fly to its assistance; but if he began by invading Attica, the other Greeks, he thought, would not, for the safety of their neighbours, expose themselves to the resentment of so powerful an enemy. Such were the views of the Barbarian; but the Athenians, not yielding to timid suggestions, and regarding a glorious death as the only danger to which they

* The reader may consult the note, page 41, on Isocrates's Panegyric.

of liberty to do nothing by compulsion, of justice to assist the injured, and of courage to die, when necessary, in defence of these maxims. It was determined therefore on both sides to come to extremities. Eurystheus disdained receiving the supplicants as a favour from the Athenians, and they determined not to deliver them up even at his entreaty. An engagement must decide whether our ancestors should prevail over the united force of Peloponnesus. Their valour overcame all opposition, they delivered the Heraclidæ from present and future danger, and crowned the virtues of the father in rewarding his posterity. And in this the children were far more fortunate than the father; that *he*, whose life was one continued course of danger and glory, could never punish Eurystheus, his most inveterate enemy, but *they* saw performed by our ancestors what Hercules could never accomplish, and in one day derived safety to themselves, and took vengeance on their foe. Such then are the noble occasions on which those, from whom we are descended, displayed their regard to justice, and their valour in maintaining it.

The first formation of their society was not like the original establishments of other men. They were not a promiscuous collection of banditti who wished to acquire territory by violence and injustice. The Athenians ever dwell in Attica, having the same land for their nurse, their mother, and their native country^m.

They were the first and only people in those times who, dissolving the petty principalities which the law of the strongest had established, erected an equal form of government. They

^m See note, page 22.

on their side, they marched forth against a numerous foe, and proved victorious in the field. Their success, however, did not elate them beyond the bounds of moderation: they pushed their advantages no farther than to obtain what they had originally demanded, and they only punished the baseness of the Thebans by contrasting it with their own magnanimity. They got possession of the dead bodies, carried them off the field, and buried them in Eleusis, a borough in their own territory.

Disinterested as this conduct was, the part which they afterwards acted, with regard to the descendants of Hercules, was not less honourable. When that hero had been taken from earth to be numbered with the gods, his posterity flying from the violence of Eurystheus, wherever they sought refuge, had been successively expelled by the inhabitants, who, though fully sensible of their baseness in doing so, were intimidated by Eurystheus's power, into a compliance with his commands. To these unhappy men, every where pursued and every where abandoned, our ancestors erected an asylum, from which all the promises and threats of their persecutor was unable to ravish them. Their veneration for the character of Hercules, their innate love of justice, prevailed over the expectation of Eurystheus's friendship or the dread of his arms. When all Peloponnesus was assembled under his banner, they did not shrink at the near approach of danger, but continued firm in their resolution. They had received no particular favour from Hercules; they knew his posterity only by their misfortunes; and Eurystheus had never given them occasion of complaint. But they conceived themselves the protectors of innocence, and the scourge of oppression; they thought it the part

of liberty to do nothing by compulsion, of justice to assist the injured, and of courage to die, when necessary, in defence of these maxims. It was determined therefore on both sides to come to extremities. Eurystheus disdained receiving the supplicants as a favour from the Athenians, and they determined not to deliver them up even at his entreaty. An engagement must decide whether our ancestors should prevail over the united force of Peloponnesus. Their valour overcame all opposition, they delivered the Heraclidae from present and future danger, and crowned the virtues of the father in rewarding his posterity. And in this the children were far more fortunate than the father; that *he*, whose life was one continued course of danger and glory, could never punish Eurystheus, his most inveterate enemy, but *they* saw performed by our ancestors what Hercules could never accomplish, and in one day derived safety to themselves, and took vengeance on their foe. Such then are the noble occasions on which those, from whom we are descended, displayed their regard to justice, and their valour in maintaining it.

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They had not even the melancholy advantage of making known at home the miscarriage of their own enterprise, and the glory of our exploits. They reaped the full fruits of their folly, and all perished on the spot. Thus did they render the name of this country immortal by the disgrace of their own, and ambitiously attempting to acquire the territory of their neighbours, they lost themselves.

Again, in the expedition against Thebes, after Adrastus and Polynices had fallen in the field, the Thebans would not permit their dead bodies to be buried. Our ancestors, considering that, although those heroes had acted unjustly, they were sufficiently punished by death, but that, by denying them the rites of burial, the manes were deprived of due honour, and the laws of religion materially violated, they immediately dispatched ambassadors to remonstrate with the Thebans, to explain the excess and impropriety of their resentment, to inform them that it belonged to the brave to punish their enemies when alive, but that it was the part of such only as distrusted their own courage, to insult the bodies of the dead. The ambassadors however returned without success; and our ancestors, not prompted by former resentment against the Thebans, not in order to ingratiate themselves with the Argives who were alive, but merely to obtain for the dead their due and customary honours, bravely taking the field, endangered their own persons for the mutual safety of the contending parties; preventing the Thebans from being impious towards the Gods, and the Argives from being deprived of their paternal rites, the common ceremonies of the Greeks, and the general expectation of all mankind. Governed by these generous principles, and condemning all the dangers of war, while they had justice

IN PRAISE OF THE ATHENIAN CITIZENS. 87

were exposed, dreaded not so much the Persian numbers as they trusted in the Athenian bravery : ashamed to find their country invaded without resistance, they waited not until their allies should come to their relief, or even be made acquainted with their danger, but marching alone against an enemy incomparably more numerous and better prepared, they acquired that safety to the Greeks, for which they had disdained to stand indebted to them. " To die, said they, is common to all, but to die bravely is peculiar to few. Let us not then regard our lives as what properly belongs to us, but by exposing them for the public cause, let us acquire a renown that shall be peculiar and truly our own. If we cannot conquer alone, neither could we though accompanied by our allies ; if we be worsted, our destruction will be only the prelude to theirs ; but if we prove victorious, ours will be the glory of defending the liberties of Greece." Their behaviour in the field corresponded to those sentiments. Disregarding their lives, dreading their own laws^o more than the enemy's sword, and bravely victorious, they erected, on the confines of Attica, a monument not more disgraceful to the Persians, or more honourable for themselves, than beneficial to the Grecian name. With such rapidity was this accomplished, that the other states of Greece learned by the same messenger the invasion of the Persians and their defeat, and, without the terror of danger, felt the pleasure of deliverance. It is not surprising then, that such actions, though ancient, should still retain the full verdure of glory, and remain to succeeding ages the examples and envy of mankind.

^o Against cowardice.

But

88 FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

But many causes conspired to engage Xerxes, king of Asia, to undertake a second expedition against Europe^p. Disgraced by past misfortunes, irritated by disappointment, and violently incensed against the Greeks, his haughty spirit gave way to the most unbounded schemes of vengeance; and after ten years preparation he landed in Europe with a fleet of twelve hundred sail, and such a number of land-forces, that it would be tedious to recount even the names of those various nations by which he was attended: But what may give some idea of this immense armament, is, that though he might have conveyed his troops over the Hellespont in twelve hundred ships, he rejected this mode of transporting them, and equally contemning the conceptions of men and the arrangement of the Gods, he made a journey through the sea and a voyage by the land, joining the opposite shores of the Hellespont, and dividing Mount Athos. Every thing yields to the influence of his power or his artifice. Some are overcome by violence, others restrained by fear, many bribed into subjection. But on this occasion the Athenians were not wanting to themselves or to the general safety. They embarked on board the fleet, and failed to expect him at Artemisium; while the Lacedæmonians and a few allies, animated with the same spirit, fly to the straits of Thermopylæ, and guard the passage into Greece. Both engagements were fought on the same day, but with different success. The Athenians were victorious, but the Lacedæmonians not deficient in

^p Lysias does not distinguish between Xerxes and his predecessor Darius, under whom the first expedition into Greece was carried on. See Note, page 41.

valour,

IN PRAISE OF THE ATHENIAN CITIZENS. 89

valour, but deceived in the number both of their allies and of the enemy ;—they were not conquered,—but perished to a man where they had been drawn up to fight. By this misfortune the Persian became master of Thermopylæ ; and the Athenians, now reduced to the utmost difficulties, could neither take the field without exposing their city to his fleet, nor embark in their galleys without leaving it at the mercy of his troops. Unable to resist at once the combined attacks of so powerful an armament, and having but this miserable alternative either to forsake Athens, or to unite with the Barbarians in enslaving Greece, they preferred a virtuous liberty with poverty and flight, to servitude with riches and disgrace, and gloriously abandoned their city in defence of their country. Having transported their wives, children, and aged parents into Salamis, they there collected the ships of their allies, and patiently waited the arrival of the Persian fleet. Soon after appeared these formidable squadrons, in number so immense, that who would not have trembled at their approach ? Yet these our ancestors opposed for the general safety ! What were the feelings of those who saw them embark ? What did they themselves feel when they considered the prizes laid up in the isle of Salamis ? Their destruction, from the infinite superiority of the enemy's numbers, appeared inevitable : but the fate of their wives, and children, and parents, was an object of the cruelest anxiety : For what humiliating insults might not these expect to suffer from triumphant Barbarians ? Surely, in their present situation the Athenians often embraced, and joined right hands ; they probably lamented their condition, when they compared the strength of the Barbarians with their own ;—and when no

90 FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

one circumstance could afford them relief. Their city was deserted, their temples burnt or demolished, their country laid waste, and every new form of calamity and disgrace awaited their kindred and themselves. But when they heard the mingled pæans of Greeks and Persians, the exhortations on both sides, the cries of the dying, and saw the sea teeming with the dead, many ships on both sides shattered or sunk, the battle long doubtful, now thinking they were victorious and now that they were overcome, torn between hope and fear, their imaginations presenting many objects they did not see, their minds terrified with sounds they did not hear—how many were their prayers to the Gods? How often did they mention their sacrifices? How great was the pity for their children, the anxiety for their wives, their compassion for their parents? How dreadful were the presages of their future calamities? What God so cruel as not to commiserate them! What mortal so insensible as not to lament them! What heart so base as not to admire their virtue! For surely, by the vigour both of their councils and actions they distinguished themselves above the weakness of humanity; abandoning their city, embarking in their galleys, exposing their persons, few in number, against the millions of Asia. Their victory is the fairest monument of liberty, and proves that an handful of freemen contending for their rights, is more powerful than an host of slaves, labouring with infamy to infringe them.

Such were the transactions of the Athenians under Themistocles; a man unmatched in eloquence, council, or action. As their own ships were more numerous than those of all the allies, their sailors more experienced, their soldiers more valiant,

liant, and their commanders more distinguished both for bravery and conduct, they carried off, without competition, the palm of victory, and obtained, by universal consent, a distinction proportional to their merit: For their courage appeared to be neither accidental nor spurious, but the genuine produce of their race, and by encountering dangers peculiar to themselves, had diffused advantages over all Greece.

But the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, now thinking themselves secure against naval descents, and forgetting the general interest of their country, began to fortify the isthmus with a view to their particular safety. On this occasion our ancestors acquainted them, that if they continued in that resolution, it would be necessary to throw a wall round all Peloponnesus; because, if provoked by the treachery of their allies, they themselves should unite with the common enemy, the king of Persia would no longer have occasion for a thousand sail to become master of the sea, nor could the fortification of the isthmus alone, much avail the Peloponnesians. Upon this spirited remonstrance the design was laid aside; and the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, ashamed of their intentions, became sensible of the danger menaced by our ancestors, and chearfully taking the field, atoned for their past baseness by the glorious victory at Plataea. Accompanied by the Tegeans alone (for the other allies, intimidated by the enemy's numbers, had deserted in the night) they discomfited and put to flight the Persians; while the Athenians, assisted by the citizens of Plataea, chastised such ignoble Greeks as, forgetting their name and their country, had submitted to a disgraceful servitude. This day only was wanting to perfect the glory of our

92 FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

ancestors ; for now by sea and land, against Greeks and Barbarians, they gave the most distinguished proofs of their valour and love of liberty, and were deemed worthy of being honoured with the first rank in Greece, as well by those whom they defeated as by their companions in the victory.

Again, when war broke out among the Greeks themselves, a war undertaken through envy, and fomented by emulation, our ancestors, without foreign assistance, checked the insolence of Ægina and its confederates ; and vanquishing their united power in a naval engagement, carried off seventy gallees.

On another occasion, they maintained a war against both Ægina and Egypt, and while their fleet and army, consisting of all the Athenians of the military age, were employed in contending with these formidable enemies, the Corinthians, supported by powerful aid, seized on this favourable opportunity for invading our territories ; expecting that they must either find them altogether defenceless, or compel the Athenians to withdraw their forces from Ægina. But they were disappointed in both these views. The old men and the young, who alone remained in Athens, trusted to their own bravery for repelling the invasion. The force of the one had not yet attained its maturity, that of the other had unhappily begun to decay ; faded or unripe, however, only in their persons, their minds were both blooming and vigorous, the one possessing courage by nature, the other having confirmed it by experience. Nor did they even allow the enemy to enter into the Athenian territories, but marching forth into the neutral country of Megara, they prevented their farther progress by obtaining over them a complete victory, as honourable for the victors, as disgraceful to the vanquished.

Having

IN PRAISE OF THE ATHENIAN CITIZENS. 93

Having erected a trophy in commemoration of it, they returned home; the aged to hold their councils, the young to prosecute their education.

But it is difficult for one speaker to do justice to so extensive a subject, or properly to describe in one day the accumulated glory of ages. For what time, what orator, or what panegyric is sufficient to display the virtue of those who lie interred here? By the most daring and splendid attempts, and with infinite fatigue and danger, they acquired liberty to Greece, and pre-eminence for Athens. During seventy years, in which they continued masters of the sea, the fruits of their superiority were most conspicuous¹: No seditions in the Grecian cities; no attempts on the liberty of their allies; no state, I may say no individual, was allowed to domineer over his neighbour, but all were compelled to enjoy equal freedom and independence. They pursued no narrow scheme for augmenting their relative strength, but invigorating the absolute and common strength of Greece, displayed it before the tyrant of Asia, now no longer intoxicated with his plans of ambition, but resigning part of his dominions, and trembling for the remainder. During all this period, no Persian vessel appeared in our seas, no tyrant reigned in Greece, no city was enslaved by the Barbarians. Such was the moderation or respect with which the virtue of the Athenians inspired their neighbours; and so well did their justice deserve that superiority which their valour had acquired.

Even their misfortunes afford additional evidence of their merit. The loss of the Athenian fleet in the Hellespont,

¹ See note on Isocrates's panegyric, page 51.

whether

94 FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

whether through the fault of the commanders, or by a fatality of circumstances, was equally felt over all Greece, the general safety of which seemed inseparably connected with the fortune of one state': for, soon after this miscarriage, the command of Greece was committed to other hands, and new leaders were appointed*. These were worsted in a sea-engagement by an enemy who formerly had been compelled to abandon that element. The Barbarians pass over, without opposition, into Europe; the face of Greece is changed and disfigured; its citizens carried into slavery, or subjected to tyrants at home. It becomes Greece to wear ensigns of mourning, and to pour forth her lamentations at this tomb. Here was her liberty interred with these victims. How unfortunate was she in losing them? How happy was the Persian monarch in having new leaders to contend with? Deprived of such friends, Greece had nothing left but the gloomy prospect of servitude; delivered from such enemies, the monarch of Persia saw his views of ambition open before him, and he was once more elevated with the proud hopes of executing his father's designs.

Nor, as citizens or as men, must we forget that band of patriots, who, reviving our political constitution at the peril of their lives, re-established the democracy'. Not com-

* See Introduction to the Orations against Eratosthenes and Agoratus.

† The Lacedæmonians assumed the pre-eminence in Greece after the defeat of the Athenian fleet in the Hellespont—The misfortunes here mentioned happened under their administration.

‡ The love of liberty, carried to enthusiasm, predominates in the orations of Lysias. He himself, as well as his friends, had suffered by the injustice and rapacity of the thirty tyrants. For these reasons, though his panegyric is more concise in other respects than that of Isocrates, it is more copious and diffuse in praise of the restorers of democracy.

pelled by law, but persuaded by reason, they marched forth into the Pireum, and maintaining the character of their ancestors, by preferring freedom and death to life and slavery, they rendered the government, then engrossed by a few, a common good in which all the citizens were concerned. The injustice of their adversaries did not more excite their resentment, than their own wretched condition roused their indignation; and, deprived of the first right of humanity, they determined to regain it, or to perish in the attempt. Virtuous oaths and engagements were their only allies; but added to their ancient and inveterate foes, they had their fellow-citizens to contend with. The sepulchres of the Lacedæmonians, still remaining on the spot, are monuments of that victory, by which union and tranquillity were restored to a state, torn by seditions; by which a city, naked and defenceless, was fortified and secured; by which Athens, who had sunk into contempt, reassumed her former rank, and made good her former pretensions.

The same generous principles which had engaged the Athenians to undertake this expedition, still actuated those who survived it. Reinstated in the rank of citizens, their desires were gratified. They did not persecute their enemies with an unrelenting hatred, but, determined never to yield to the slavery to which these had basely submitted, they invited them to share the freedom which they themselves had so gloriously acquired.

The success of the present enterprize proves, that it was neither from their own misconduct, nor the valour of their foes, that the past misfortunes of this state had proceeded. If, while divided by factions at home, and surrounded by dangers from abroad, they yet made their way into the bosom of their country, notwithstanding the opposition of the Peloponnesians:

96 FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

fians : How weak must this opposition have proved, had they been united among themselves ? But their virtue surely deserves immortal honour, and must excite the emulation of the brave in all succeeding ages.

Neither ought we to forget those strangers who fought in the cause of freedom, thinking virtue their native inheritance, and dying with so much glory, that they were lamented in public, buried at the expence of the state, and thought worthy to be afterwards distinguished with honours till then reserved for the citizens ^w.

The Athenians now buried, fell in a similar cause, but still more glorious ^x. They perished for the liberties of those who hated them. They assisted the Corinthians their inveterate foes, when abandoned by their ancient allies, and endangered in their freedom. While the Lacedæmonians envied the prosperity of their friends, these generous Athenians pitied the distress of their enemies, and even died to relieve them. Not regarding their ancient variance with Corinth, or the injuries received from that state, they took the field ^{to enable} ~~in order that~~ the Corinthians, instead of being subjected to the yoke of Lacedæmon, ^{to} ~~might~~ share in the liberties of Athens. To men actuated by so generous a motive, death was disarmed of all its terrors ; dying or living their condition was worthy of envy. Early instructed in the glory of their ancestors, they shewed themselves determined to maintain it ; and repairing by their present valour, the effects of past miscarriages, and removing the danger at a distance from their country, they died,

^w He means the Thebans who assisted the Athenian people against the thirty tyrants. See Xenophon's Greek History, Book IV.

^x See the Introduction to this Discourse.

as brave men ought, leaving trophies to the public, but woes to their kindred. It becomes us then to honour the dead, and to lament the living. For what pleasure, what consolation remains to them? They are deprived of those who loved them, but who, preferring virtue to every connexion, have left them fatherless, widowed, and forlorn. Of all their relations, the children, too young to feel their loss, are least to be lamented; but most of all, the parents, who are too old ever to forget it. They nourished and brought up children to be the comforts of their age, but of these, in the decline of life, they are deprived, and with them of all their hopes. What can be more miserable? Is not death only to be wished for? Their children, who formerly rendered them the objects of envy, now render them the objects of compassion. The height of their merit, in which they used to glory, now plunges them into deeper distress. What circumstances can put a period to their sorrows?—When the state is unfortunate? Public calamities will be added to private woes—When the state is successful? Others will enjoy the fruits of their children's virtues.—In private dangers? The friends of their prosperity will avoid sharing in their wretchedness; and their enemies, swollen with insolence, will triumph in their misfortunes. We shall best honour the dead then, by extending our protection to the living. We must assist and defend their widows, protect and honour their parents, embrace and cherish their orphans. Who deserve more honour than the dead? Who are entitled to more sympathy than their kindred?

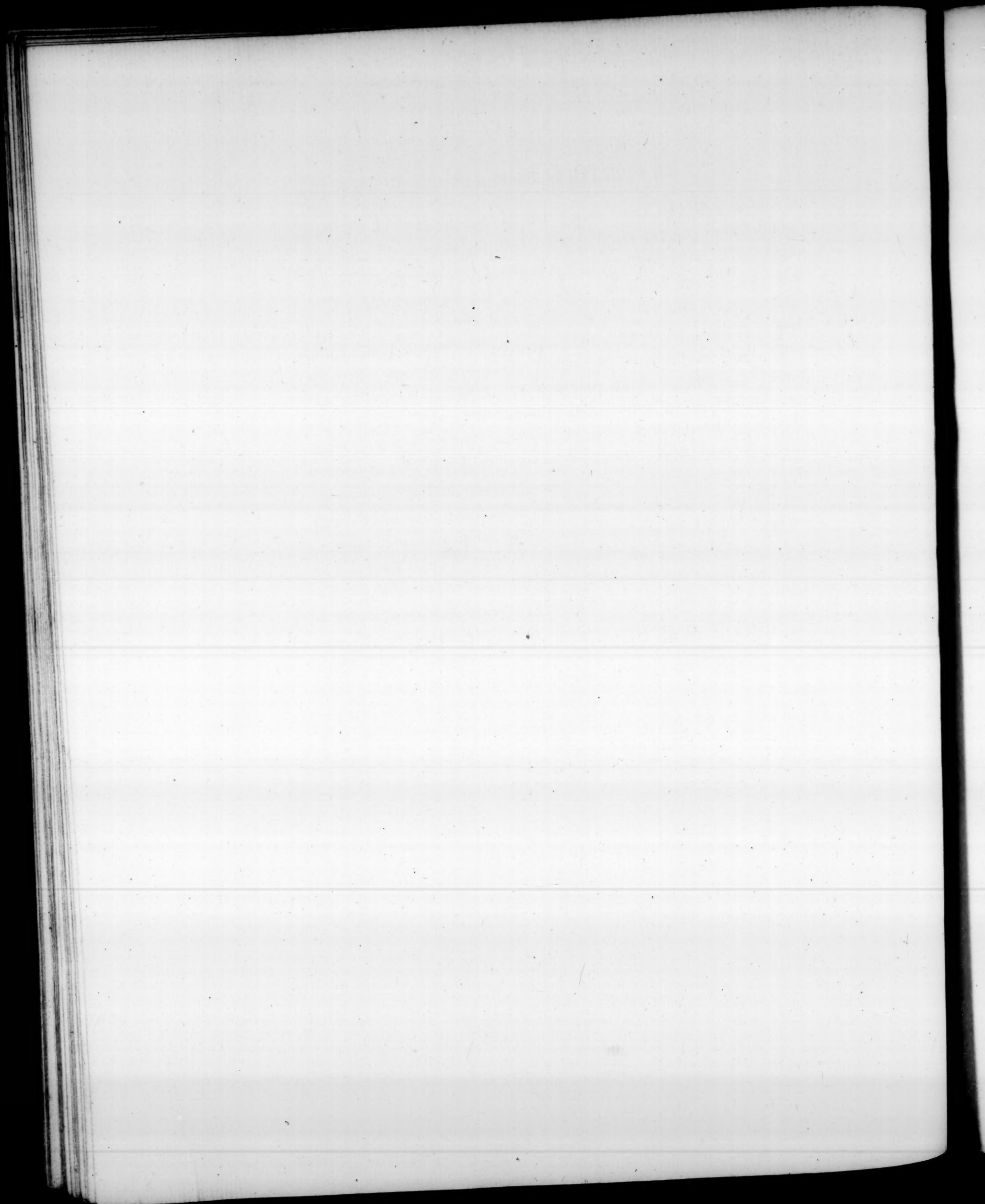
But wherefore this sorrow? Are we ignorant of our common fate? Why bear with impatience what we have ever expected?

O

98 FUNERAL ORATION WRITTEN BY LYSIAS,

pected? Why revolt against the law of necessity, since Death is equal to the hero and to the coward, neither overlooking the villain in contempt, nor sparing, in admiration of his character, the man of highest virtue? If those who escape the dangers of war could also escape death, the tide of your sorrows ought ever to flow. But since human nature must yield to age and disease, and the divinity that presides over our fate is inexorable, those are to be reckoned of all men most happy, who, not committing themselves to fortune, or waiting the uncertain approaches of a natural death, choose and embrace that which is most glorious. Dying for whatever is most respectable among men, their memories never fade, their honours ever bloom, their actions remain perpetual objects of emulation and praise, and though lamented as mortal by nature, they are celebrated as immortal through virtue. They are buried at the public expence, and contests of strength, wisdom, and magnificence are appointed in honour of them and the gods. For my part, I account them most happy; I envy them their death. Those men alone are gainers by their birth, who, though their bodies be mortal, have acquired immortal renown. But, according to established practice, and the laws of our ancestors, we must mourn for the persons here buried.

THE
DISCOURSE
OF
ARCHIDAMUS,
IN THE
COUNCIL OF SPARTA.



INTRODUCTION.

THE name of Archidamus was common to several of the Spartan kings. Of these the speaker of this discourse, son to the famous Agesilaus, was not more distinguished on account of his virtues, than by the opportunities which he enjoyed to display them. For he happened to live at a period, when Sparta, having provoked the resentment of all the neighbouring states, by a spirit of domineering ambition, and an uniform oppressive system of lawless violence and outrage, had prepared for herself those calamities, and that train of humiliation and distress, which rendered the utmost abilities of her most illustrious citizens necessary to the preservation of her political independence. We have elsewhere^y related, at some length, the circumstances of this famous revolution; and have explained the causes which precipitated that haughty republic, from the highest station in Greece, to the lowest condition of misery. We have also described the particular situation of his country, when Archidamus delivered the following Oration in the Spartan council. It remains to give the reader an account of the Discourse itself, and to make him acquainted with the character of the young prince for whom it was composed.

Degraded from their boasted pre-eminence, stripped of their possessions, and almost confined within the walls of the city, the Spartans were threatened with the desertion of the only allies who had remained faithful to them in the war which they car-

^y See Discourse on the History of Greece.

ried on against Thebes. Deplorable as this situation was, they might still ward off immediate danger by obtaining a cessation of hostilities, which the Thebans offered to grant, upon condition that Messene, a country long subject to Sparta, should be declared free and independent. A council is called to deliberate on the propriety of complying with this condition; and yielding under the continued shocks of adversity, even the Spartans are disposed to prefer the safest to the most honourable measures. On this occasion Archidamus alone ventures to recal their ancient maxims, animates them to resistance, and encourages them to display those virtues which it is better to die, than to abandon.

If we consider his Discourse in an historical view, there are few remains of antiquity more precious. Diodorus Siculus² has given an account of the conquest and settlement of Messene; but how different is the dry detail of the compiler, from the lively colours of the orator? The latter not only relates the facts, but describes them with those circumstances which paint the manners of that early age. We behold the children of Hercules wandering in quest of new settlements, and rejoice at their hospitable reception among the Dorians. When, by the advice of an oracle, they have determined upon making an expedition into Peloponnesus, to assert their rights to the conquests of their ancestors in that country, we learn the conditions upon which the Dorians agreed to follow them, and the manner in which they purposed to settle in their new acquisitions; the same with that in which the Northern nations who dismembered the Roman empire, planted the countries

² Lib. XV. & passim.

which

DISCOURSE OF ARCHIDAMUS. 103

which they had conquered; for a similitude of manners and of arrangements will always be found among mankind, when they are either placed in a state of barbarity, or have made but small advances beyond it.

From the justice of their original title to Messene, and from their undisturbed possession of it during three hundred years^a, Archidamus concludes that his countrymen could not be deprived of it without the greatest dishonour. He affirms, that a timid compliance in this particular, would be no less dangerous than disgraceful; that those only can expect a lasting peace who are prepared to maintain a vigorous war; while the cowering slave, who submits to the yoke, has a double burden imposed on him. For his own part he is determined to die rather than be dishonoured; and to inspire his countrymen with the same resolution, he adduces the example of republics and princes, whose affairs seemed no longer to admit of a remedy, but which, nevertheless, fortitude and magnanimity had retrieved. And he asserts, that a nation can be reduced to no condition of distress, from which a warlike genius and a well-regulated government are not sufficient to relieve it.

To his opponents in the debate, who dissuaded the Spartans from embracing honourable, but dangerous measures, by dwelling on the calamities of war, he answers, That they ought to have maintained this doctrine during the prosperity of their country: That war, so fatal to all the pleasures of the happy,

^a Isocrates makes Archidamus say four hundred years. This relates to the first conquest of Messene; for the second Messenian war, by which that country was finally subdued, and the people reduced into slavery, did not terminate till about three hundred years before the time of Archidamus.

is the only resource of the unfortunate : That it alone produces those revolutions which can better their situation, and enable them to obtain such a peace as is worthy of being accepted. If this reasoning be, in general, well founded, with what particular force may it be applied to the Spartans? They, he observes, of all mankind ought to be the last in submitting to a treaty, of which the terms must be dictated by their enemies. Individuals of Sparta, by a timely and generous assistance, have delivered cities reduced to famine, and surrounded by armed men; they have often, by the most surprising acts of extraordinary valour, saved their allies from such misfortunes as appeared to be unavoidable; and that bravery which they so nobly displayed in behalf of others, will they not employ in their own defence, but allow themselves, by one act of servile submission, to be deprived of the accumulated glory of seven hundred years, acquired at the price of much blood, in the continued exercise of the most undaunted fortitude, and the most persevering intrepidity.

But as courage can be of no avail unless supported by force, and as those who opposed the war were always asking how it was possible to carry it on, he considers the civil and military institutions of his country as admirably adapted to this purpose; he mentions the favour of the Gods always attending the cause of the just, the accidental prosperity of their enemies by which they were too vainly intoxicated to govern with wisdom, as well as the dissensions which prevailed among them; and affirms the combination all these circumstances to be so favourable to the Spartans, that they have no reason to despair.

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But if it was necessary still farther to take notice of the foreign assistance which they might expect, he asserts, that many princes and republics will be disposed to take arms in their cause. This leads him to give a description, not only of the state of Greece, but of the most considerable of the neighbouring kingdoms, the interests of which were connected with those of that country. The picture which he draws of the miserable situation of the smaller states of Peloponnesus, since they had deserted the Spartan alliance, is extremely affecting. "We might easily conquer them," says he, "by force of arms, but even this is not necessary. They will either destroy one another, or again returning to their duty, submit themselves to our protection, as the only means of their own preservation."

Yet if all that has been hitherto advanced should prove insufficient for inducing his countrymen to withstand the enemy, he has still one resolution to propose, harsh indeed and austere, but more becoming the sentiments of Spartans, and more worthy of their former renown, than any that had been hitherto laid before them. I shall not attempt to give an account of this part of the Discourse, which cannot with propriety be abridged. I recollect but two instances in all history of any thing parallel to the scheme which Archidamus persuades his hearers to adopt. The first was actually carried into execution by the Athenians, who, sensible of the impossibility of resisting the Persian force, deserted their city, embarked on board their fleet, and fought for liberty amidst the waves. The second was only an object of deliberation with the Dutch, when their republic was on the point of being subverted. Many of them were then of opinion that they

ought to abandon Holland, sail to the East Indies, and shew the first example to mankind of a democracy subsisting between the tropics.

As the resolution proposed by Archidamus is noble and generous in the highest degree, so the eloquence with which it is described, is manly, forcible, and vehement, beyond the ordinary manner of Isocrates. Always a correct, elegant and persuasive writer, he generally insinuates his opinions by reasoning and argument; and seldom, by inflaming the passions, renders them subservient to his purpose. But here he rises with his subject; the boldest sentiments are hazarded; an unusual ardour is displayed; the love of liberty, mingled with resentment, indignation, and despair, are involved in one continued stream of eloquence. The ancients discovered a majesty of composition in this discourse^b, which they hardly any where else observed. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, second only to Aristotle in criticism, affirms, that the oration written for Archidamus, is more capable of inspiring manly sentiments, than all the maxims of philosophers^c. The French writers, who represent Isocrates as a feeble, flowery Rhetorician, have probably paid no more attention to these criticisms, than to the performance which is their object^d. This oration was composed, as appears from the events which are related in it, after the first invasion of Sparta by the Thebans, but before the alliance had taken place between Sparta and Athens, which Isocrates only insinuates may without difficulty be brought about. I would therefore fix its date at the 369th year before Christ, or the 65th of Isocrates's age.

^b Philostr. Vit. Isoc.

^c Dion. Vit. Isoc.

^d Fenelon, &c.

It may not be here improper, to give the reader a short account of Archidamus, that it may appear how properly his character and conduct corresponded with the sentiments which Isocrates makes him express. As the influence of his opinion, and the force with which it was urged, had determined his countrymen to listen to no terms of accommodation with their enemies; so he himself was so happy as to gain the first advantage over them, and to restore the declining fortune of Sparta. The Arcadians and Argives, who were the most powerful of the Theban allies, having a second time entered into Laconia, Archidamus prepared to meet them with the domestic forces of the state, and a considerable reinforcement, sent by Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, upon whose assistance, he affirms in his discourse, that the Spartans might safely depend. The armies being drawn up in hostile array, in a plain between Sparta and Euctresios, he exhorted his troops, according to Xenophon, in the following words: "Let us, my fellow-citizens, look up with confidence; for we may now restore our lost honour, and transmit the city to our posterity in the same condition in which we received it from our ancestors. Let us no longer disgrace our children, our wives, our parents, our guests, to whom, instead of being the objects of contempt and the source of sorrow, we were formerly the cause of admiration and of triumph." While he was yet speaking, it thundered on his right, though the day was clear and serene. The soldiers, roused by the noise, looked towards the quarter from which it came, and beheld a statue of Hercules, the

^e Xenophon Leun. p. 620.

great ancestor of Archidamus. The Spartans, animated by all these circumstances concurring at the same time, which redoubled the effect of each, were seized with an enthusiasm of valour, and, confident of victory, rushed with secure intrepidity into the midst of the enemy. The few who withstood their onset were totally destroyed; the rest flying in the utmost disorder and consternation, became an easy prey to the victors; and many thousands of them were trampled down by the horses, or perished by the sword. The Spartans lost not a single man. The news of this event, no less fortunate than singular, being carried to the senate, Agesilaus, the Ephori, and chief magistrates, burst into tears of joy, and their example was soon followed by the whole assembly^f.

This victory, the most glorious that could possibly be obtained, enabled the Spartans to prolong the war; and being soon after encouraged by the assistance of the Athenians, and several other fortunate events, they were in a situation not only to defend their own country, but to invade the territories of their neighbours. Prosperity, however, to which they had been long unaccustomed, robbed them of their usual prudence. Intent on a foreign expedition, they drew forth their whole force, and left their city, wives, and families, altogether defenceless. This injudicious measure did not escape the attention of Epaminondas, who, by a forced march, arrived in the neighbourhood of Sparta, before its citizens could be recalled to its relief. On this occasion, Archidamus again saved his country,

^f Xenophon, *ibid.*

and obtained a victory, which, as it is related by Xenophon, appears one of the most extraordinary that history records. Epaminondas had taken every precaution which the peculiar sagacity of his mind could suggest; he did not approach Sparta by those narrow roads, where a superiority of numbers could afford him little advantage over the enemy; he did not even draw out his forces in the plain, from which, had they entered the town, they might have been annoyed by missile weapons; nor did he leave an opportunity to the Spartans for surprising him by ambush, in the management of which they were at all times so dextrous. Seizing an eminence which commanded the town, he determined to descend into it with every advantage on his side, and without the seeming possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience. But the issue of so well concerted an enterprise, Xenophon is at a loss whether to ascribe to a particular providence of the gods, or to the invincible courage of men actuated by despair. Archidamus, with scarce a hundred Spartans, marched up to the enemy. The first, who stood round Epaminondas, were cut down; and then "those Thebans," says Xenophon^s, "who breathed fire, who had so often conquered, who had ravaged Laconia, who were greatly superior in numbers, and who possessed the advantage of the ground, shamefully gave way. The Spartans, animated with revenge, and exulting in success, pursue the retiring enemy, but their impetuosity carrying them too far, they at length meet with resistance; for the divinity, says Xenophon, who had determined this victory of the Spartans, seems also to have prescribed the boundaries beyond which it ought not to extend."

^s Xenophon, p. 642.

These exploits had endeared Archidamus to his countrymen before he succeeded his father Agesilaus in the first office of their republic ^h. But with every quality that could gain him respect in commanding that warlike people, his liberal and independent spirit could never patiently submit to the rigorous severity with which the institutions of Sparta controlled even the private behaviour of its kings. He therefore abandoned a crown to enjoy his liberty, and died in Italy, fighting in defence of the inhabitants of Tarentum, whose territories had been invaded by the Barbarians in their neighbourhood ⁱ.

^h B. C. 362.

ⁱ Pausan. Lacon. Strab. Geogr. lib. IV.

THE
DISCOURSE OF ARCHIDAMUS
IN THE
COUNCIL OF SPARTA.

IT may perhaps seem remarkable, that I, who have observed so carefully all the institutions of my country, and who have even testified for them a degree of respect which few of my companions have discovered, should all at once adopt a behaviour apparently inconsistent with my past life; and young as I am, should venture to address you on a subject, upon which, even the oldest persons in this assembly are delicate in offering advice. But, had those whom you are accustomed to hear, spoken in a manner suitable to the dignity of the state, my forwardness should not now excite your surprise. While many of the usual speakers, however, exhort you to embrace the dishonourable terms which your enemies would impose, and while others either feebly oppose this opinion, or remain altogether silent; I think it necessary to declare my sentiments with full freedom, because I should be ashamed, if, while I myself maintained my private rank and dignity in Sparta, my country should abandon her public rank and pre-eminence in Greece.

And if young men may ever presume to advise without giving offence, it is surely with regard to war. They bear the greatest share of its dangers, and if they are

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the authors of inconsiderate resolutions, must be completely punished for their folly.

Besides, when matters are debated in full senate, the rash projects of the young may be corrected by the maturer counsels of the aged. Yet, if these were on all occasions the best qualified for giving advice, those would doubtless be excluded from your councils. But as we are here promiscuously assembled, and as nature has assigned no particular period for the attainment of wisdom, which depends, not on the number of our years, but on the happy constitution of our minds, and the culture with which we improve them, Why will you not impartially listen to all; that, after examining their respective proposals, you may embrace that which seems most advantageous and honourable? For it would be highly unreasonable, that we, who are often entrusted with the command of your army and fleet, an employment upon which the public safety depends, and in the execution of which the least error may be irretrievable, should be debarred from declaring our opinion, which, if well founded, may be of no small advantage to your affairs, and, however unreasonable and absurd, can only hurt our own reputation.

I have no ambition to display my talents as an orator, nor is it with a view to justify any new system of behaviour which I purpose to assume, that I offer these observations. My sole intention is, to persuade you, not to despise the sentiments of the young merely because they are so, but to hearken to good advice from whatever quarter you may receive it.

Never was there a time when this impartiality was more necessary. From the first foundation of our government, we never have been involved in any war or danger so considerable as
that

that upon which we now deliberate. On all former occasions we fought for dominion, we now struggle for independence; we formerly took the field to compel others to obey our commands; we now contend that theirs may not be imposed on us; and this is the very characteristic of Liberty, in defence of which, it becomes not only Spartans but all men who feel the least sentiment of virtue, to suffer every hardship, to brave every danger. For my own part (if I may be allowed to speak of myself), I would prefer instant death, while yet possessed of freedom, rather than purchase a life longer than the appointment of nature, by tamely submitting to the Thebans. For I should reckon it most dishonourable, that a descendant of Hercules, the son of a king, and the heir of a throne, should not employ the last effort of his life, to prevent the inheritance transmitted from our ancestors being occupied by our slaves.

This, I am confident, will be your unanimous resolution, when you consider, that it is not less prudent than honourable. We have hitherto been unfortunate in the war against the Thebans; our forces have been overcome through the misconduct of those who commanded them, but our minds still remain unsubdued. Were we to allow the enemy to obtain a victory also over our minds, and meanly purchase security at the price of our legal rights and ancient property, we should confirm the insolence of the Thebans, and erect a monument to our own disgrace, more lasting and more conspicuous than even the trophy at Leuctra. While this trophy, raised by our enemies, served to commemorate our bad fortune in one battle, the timid result of our own deliberations would be an eternal proof of our baseness. Never let us cover ourselves with so much infamy;

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nor

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nor permit the sollicitations of our allies to persuade us to obtain a peace by abandoning Messene.

We ought to feel more indignation against the advisers of this measure, than even against the allies, who, from the beginning of the war, deserted us. These, by their revolt from Sparta, brought destruction on themselves. Their government was overturned, their cities filled with disorder, and the people perished in seditions. But those false friends, while they pretend attachment to Sparta, would involve it in the greatest calamity. They would persuade us to abandon by one fatal decree, the accumulated glory of seven hundred years; they, who have been so often saved by our arms, advise us disgracefully to lay them down! they exhort you, who so bravely defended their territories, ignominiously to surrender your own; and all this for their private interest—for they threaten, that if you yield not to their advice, they will instantly forsake your alliance. But I am of opinion, that the danger of the war would not be so much augmented by this desertion, as the glory of it would be increased; and it is conformable with the other exploits of Lacedæmon, to owe her victories only to herself.

I never courted the applause of eloquence; I have hitherto even neglected an art which seemed designed rather for ornament than use, but at present I should reckon it the utmost felicity, to be able to do justice to my subject, for by this I should benefit my country.

First of all, you must be informed by what means we acquired possession of Messene, and how you, though originally inhabitants of Doria, were induced to settle in Peloponnesus.

This matter, I shall trace to its source, that it may appear in the clearest manner, that the territory of which our enemies now strive to deprive us, is held by as just titles as Lacedæmon itself.

When Hercules left the earth, and took his seat among the gods, his descendants, in order to avoid the resentment of Eurystheus¹, the inveterate enemy of their father, were long obliged to wander from one country to another. But upon the death of their persecutor, they at length obtained a fixed habitation in Doria. Two centuries afterwards, they had occasion to repair to Delphos in order to consult the oracle. The god, however, answered none of the questions which they proposed, but ordered them to settle in the inheritance of their father. When they had maturely weighed the meaning of this response, they found that the kingdom of Argos naturally devolved on them by the right of succession; as, after the decease of Eurystheus, they were the only remaining posterity of Perseus^m, the lawful sovereign of that country. They reflected also, that Lace-

¹ Hercules was the reputed son of Amphytrion, king of Messene, who happening unfortunately to kill Electrion, his uncle and father-in-law, was obliged to fly into Thebes. In those barbarous ages, when the regular order of succession was not as yet established, and force generally prevailed over right, it was no difficult matter for Eurystheus, though only descended from a collateral branch of the royal family, to mount a throne to which his birth did not entitle him. But as he dreaded to be deprived of his usurped dignity by Hercules, the lawful heir of the kingdom; he looked upon that hero with a jealous eye, persecuted him during his whole life, and extended the same resentment to his posterity.

^m Perseus never actually reigned in Argos, having chosen to exchange that kingdom, where he was unwilling to live, as he had there unfortunately killed his father Acrisius, by accident, for the small one of Tyrins. This he left to his son Alcaus, and he to Amphytrion, by whose wife Alcmena, Jupiter is supposed to have begot Hercules. Pausan. in Argolic.

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dæmon had been recovered by the arms of Hercules to Tyndareus, its lawful prince, who, in return for this favour, had promised to bestow that territory on the descendants of his benefactor. Messene too had been conquered by the same hero, when, being robbed of the herds which he drove from Erythea, by Neleus and his children, he punished their iniquity by death, and bestowed the kingdom in trust for his own posterity, on Nestorⁿ, the youngest of the sons of Neleus, who had refused to be concerned in the transgression of his father.

These circumstances having suggested to the descendants of Hercules the meaning of the oracle, they immediately erected their standard, and prepared for an expedition into Peloponnesus. Your ancestors, the Dorians, agreed to accompany them. The conditions of the agreement were, that the land should be shared out among all who fought to acquire it, but that the royal dignity should be confined to the family of Hercules alone.

I omit to take notice of the many dangers which they encountered on their march into Peloponnesus, as well as of many other particulars foreign to my present subject. It is sufficient to observe, that having subdued the inhabitants of that country, they divided it into three separate kingdoms. You, the citizens of Sparta, have always continued faithful to the engage-

ⁿ This fixes the age of Hercules at about fifty years preceding the famous war of Troy; in which Nestor was present in his old age, and assisted the Greeks more by his counsel than his sword. This war happened about four hundred years before the first Olympiad, or the 776th year before Christ, at which, according to Varro, the age of historic truth, unblended with fiction and uncorrupted by fable, may be reckoned to commence. The return of the descendants of Hercules to Peloponnesus, is commonly fixed at the 328th year before the first Olympiad. The events therefore, which are mentioned in this part of the discourse, belong to the age which Varro accounts fabulous.

ments contracted with my ancestors : you have in general, therefore, been more fortunate than the neighbouring nations, and if you continue to maintain the same behaviour, you may expect that your affairs will speedily assume a very different appearance from what they now wear. But the Messeneans, treacherous and ungrateful men, conspired against Cresphontes, their sovereign, and the founder of their colony; the conspiracy took effect, the prince was put to death; and his children flying from the dangers which threatened them, took refuge in this city, resigned their rights to Messene in our favour, and only entreated us to avenge the murder of their father. We again had recourse to the oracle, who ordered us to receive the country, and to gratify their request. Accordingly we invade the Messenians, and render ourselves master of their territory.

I have related these matters compendiously, because the occasion does not permit me to search deep into antiquity. I have said enough, however, to prove that we hold the country to which no one disputes our right, by no better title than Messene. This we obtained as a gift from the sons of Hercules, by the approbation of the Gods, and after subduing its guilty inhabitants: Lacedæmon itself we received from the same persons, recovered it by the same means, and had the possession of it confirmed to us by the authority of the same oracle. If we are determined then to comply with every condition which our enemies may think proper to impose; if we are determined to abandon, at their command, even Sparta itself, there is no reason for now deliberating about Messene. But if none of you would submit to the meanness of surviving the loss of your native country,

neither

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neither ought you to endure the thoughts of being subjected to the disgrace with which you are now threatened.

Nor can you possibly be ignorant, that property, whether public or private, may be confirmed by long possession, and rendered altogether secure to those who have acquired it. We possessed the territory in dispute before the Persians were masters of Asia, or many of the Grecian cities had been founded. Yet our enemies, restored to the Persian monarch the conquests which we had acquired in Asia, as his ancient and hereditary right, though his ancestors had not possessed them full two hundred years. Why then would they ravish from us Messene which we have enjoyed double that time? Thus, would they overturn states whether ancient or modern; those of Thespia and Plataea they lately subvertedⁿ, driving out the inhabitants after three hundred years possession, and audaciously violating those rights which have ever been held most sacred.

If they intended to bring back into Messene the original inhabitants of that territory, their conduct, however unjust, might admit of some plausible excuse. This, however, is not their design; they pretend not to re-establish the Messenians in the possessions of which we justly deprived them. They would settle the Helots on our borders^o; these they would give
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ⁿ Thespia was a free city in Bœotia, situated on a river of the same name: both were consecrated to the muses, from which circumstance these were called Thespiades. The city was sheltered on the north by the famous mount Helicon. For an account of the treatment of this city, as well as of Plataea, by the Thebans, see the Discourse of Isocrates written for the Plateans.

^o Helos was a city in Laconia, said to be built by Helius, the son of Perseus. The inhabitants called Helots, having refused to pay the tribute imposed on them by Agis,

us for neighbours; so that we ought not to feel more uneasiness for the loss of the country, than indignation at seeing it under the dominion of our slaves.

There are still many other considerations which, as they confirm our title to Messene, prove that we could not honourably abandon it. Of all our conquests this is the only one which our enemies never had the presumption to dispute with us before. On several occasions we have been obliged to enter into treaty with them, after our arms had proved unsuccessful: then, indeed, they seized the opportunity which our distressed situation afforded them; they called in question our right of sovereignty over several other territories; but as to Messene, neither the king of Persia, nor the republic of Thebes, ever once ventured to demand it. What testimony can be more powerful than that of our enemies, given in the time of our distress? The oracle, too, which is universally acknowledged to be the most ancient, the most impartial, the most worthy of our reverence and belief, commanded us to receive Messene from the children of Cresphontes, and to revenge their wrongs. We obeyed, and attacked the Messenians; the contest became obstinate and doubtful, and both parties again had recourse to the god. To the Messenians, who consulted him, by what means they might defend themselves in so unjust a cause, he disdained to give any reply; but the Spartans he thoroughly satisfied, and taught them not only what sacrifices it was proper to perform, but what assistance it was ne-

Agis, the third king of the race of Hercules; the Lacedaemonians attacked and overcame them, reduced them into the most wretched slavery, and even established a law, for preventing their masters from ever granting them their liberty. Strabo, lib. viii.

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cessary to demand ^p, in order successfully to terminate the war. Thus did we expel from a country which we had received from its lawful masters, those who had so criminally acquired it; wretches who merited, on account of their cruelty and ingratitude, not only to be driven from one particular country, but to be utterly extirpated. What arguments can be more convincing? The territory which we had obtained as a gift, we again recovered by conquest; our title is confirmed by prescription, by the testimony of our enemies, and by the oracles of the gods. It is impossible then, that we should incur the charge of ambition or injustice, by endeavouring to maintain it. More might be advanced upon this topic, but surely more would be superfluous.

The advocates for the peace insist, that men ought not to be governed by the same principles in adversity, by which they are actuated in prosperity; that those should follow fortune who cannot command her; that courage unsupported by strength becomes obstinacy; and in fine, that such as are reduced to our present unhappy situation, ought to prefer convenience to justice, and as they cannot obtain what they desire, should only desire what they can obtain. Allowing some parts of this reasoning, to be con-

^p This alludes to what happened in the second war of the Spartans against the Messenians, about 680 years before Christ. The oracle ordered the former to seek a leader from Athens. The Athenians granted their request in such a manner as proved they were jealous of the growing power of a rival state. They sent them as a general, Tyrtaeus, a lame poet, unacquainted with war, and whose judgment was generally thought to be somewhat disordered: But Tyrtaeus proved, that his character had been entirely mistaken by his countrymen; he displayed as much conduct as bravery, animated the Spartans by his example, and when they were ready to despair of success, roused them to victory by his verses. These were ever afterwards regarded in Sparta as the best lessons of valour; and many fragments of them still remain.

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clusive, I cannot possibly admit, that convenience is, on any occasion whatever, to be preferred to justice. I am supported in this opinion by the authority of our laws, founded solely on justice; by the example of the good and the wise in every age, who endeavour chiefly to distinguish themselves by an uniform and unshaken adherence to this virtue; and by the practice of every well-regulated society, which considers justice as the standard of all its measures. I observe also, that those wars which had been undertaken with justice, have alone been terminated with success; and in one word, that while virtue of every kind renders mankind both happy and prosperous, vice must infallibly destroy them. They have no reason to be afraid, therefore, who take arms in a just cause; but their enemies surely ought to tremble, who, by violating those sacred laws which are the chief support of society, have compelled them to this fatal necessity.

If we wish to be directed chiefly by motives of utility, the measures which I propose, ought, nevertheless, to be adopted. Two advantages are offered to your choice, of which the one is as sure and evident, as the other is obscure and uncertain. Would it not be absurd to reject certainty for hope, and to abandon a necessary advantage for one that is contingent? This would be the more ridiculous, as even supposing them to be equally certain, yet, in other respects, there is no proportion between them: For what is it that I advise you? Not to cover yourselves with infamy, by tamely surrendering your lawful possessions; but to trust that, by a vigorous defence of your just rights, you will at length prove superior to the enemy. What are you advised to by my opponents? At once to cede Messene; to begin by a manifest injury against

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yourselves; and after you thus abandon both your interest and your honour, you may not even obtain the unequal advantage for which you sacrificed them. A peace you might obtain, but not a lasting peace: this can only be the result of a vigorous war; for a treaty is not long observed, but with such as have spirit to assert the conditions of it. The truckling slave, who submits to the yoke, has a double burden imposed upon him. I dwell not, however, upon this argument, for there are others still more convincing.

If such as are conquered at first, were never afterwards successful, we should have good reason to despair. But if the fortune of war be variable and inconstant; if those who are once vanquished are not therefore thoroughly subdued; if the weaker party, by proper measures, may overcome the more powerful, and the besieged surprise those who surround them, why may not something of this kind happen in the war between us and the Thebans? I cannot illustrate this topic by domestic examples, for the Spartans were never before invaded by a victorious enemy⁹. But the history of our neighbours affords us a variety of examples to our present purpose. Athens, in particular, though she incurred the hatred of the Greeks by the haughtiness of her commands, and the abuse of her good fortune; yet, by repelling the daring attempts of powerful invaders, excited the admiration of all mankind. I shall not describe the ancient, but more obscure victories, which she obtained over the Amazons, the Barbarians of Thrace, or those inhabitants of Peloponnesus

⁹ An Athenian boasting that his countrymen had often driven the Spartans from the river Cephissus; True, replied Antalcidas the Spartan, but we never had any occasion to drive you from the Eurotas. Plut. in Apophth. Lacon.

who

who followed the standard of Eurystheus. But in the Persian war, of which the memory is still recent, who does not know from what calamities she recovered, and what glory she acquired? Of all the states without Peloponnesus, Athens alone, though she perceived the force of her enemies to be irresistible, did not once deliberate whether it was expedient to obey them; her city was deserted but not enslaved. The Athenians embraced liberty as their native land, they abandoned their territories, and braving every danger that could terrify the minds of men, soon re-established their affairs with such success, that, by leaving their own country for a few days, they continued for many years to be masters of what had belonged to their enemies.

Nor is this the only example of what fortitude can perform. Dionysius, the tyrant, when his city was besieged by the Carthaginians, and the misfortunes of the war had occasioned a revolt among his own subjects, resolved, in order to avoid the last calamities, to abandon his kingdom, and to make his escape by sea. On this occasion, one of those who used to converse with him, emboldened by the tyrant's misfortunes, ventured to take notice, that a throne was a glorious sepulchre. Dionysius, struck with the justness of this observation, became ashamed of his design, resumed the war with double vigour, overcame the Carthaginians, confirmed his authority over his own subjects, extended the limits of his kingdom, and dying a monarch, devolved the sceptre to his son.

Amyntas, king of Macedon, experienced a similar fortune: Worst by the Barbarians in his neighbourhood, and deprived of the greatest part of his territories, he at first intended, like Dionysius, to provide, by flight, for the safety of his person;

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but accidentally hearing an encomium of what had been said to that prince, he immediately changed his resolution, seized a small fortress, and collecting into it whatever assistance he could procure, determined to defend himself to the last extremity. In the short space of three months he regained possession of his territories, and died a king in extreme old age.

It would be tedious to relate the various instances of this kind which history affords. I might adduce the example even of the Thebans, which, though it may make us reflect on the past with regret, ought to inspire us with good hopes of the future. That people, by obstinately resisting the attacks, and by despising all the threats of Lacedæmon, have not only been delivered from danger, but raised to such superiority, that they now think themselves entitled to command those whom it before required uncommon courage in them to oppose. And such revolutions of fortune as happen to all other states, shall Lacedæmon never experience? It is folly to think so. Let us, therefore, endure the present with fortitude, and patiently expect the future. A nation can never be reduced into any distress, from which a warlike genius, and a well regulated government, may not always be able to relieve it. But in military institutions and experience, we unquestionably excel our neighbours; and such a system of government as we enjoy, no other nation can boast of. These advantages, which are permanent, must speedily overbalance any temporary misfortune; and we shall soon regain that superiority to which they entitle us.

There are some men, however, who never cease to insist on the common topic, that war is uncertain; and having confirmed their opinion by experience, and chiefly by what has happened to this state, they then demand with triumph, whether

whether we ought to add new misfortunes to those in which we are already involved. But surely experience will teach us, that many have obtained happiness by war, while others have been ruined by peace. So true it is that nothing in itself is either absolutely good or evil; but that as men use things and opportunities, so must events turn out. If any general rule can be given on this subject, it is, that those who have been successful in the war, should endeavour, as soon as possible, to bring about a peace; because they may thus avail themselves of their present advantages: and that such as have been unfortunate in the field, should be the last to desist from hostility; because it is only by the continual agitations and revolutions of such a state, that they can expect to better their situation. But we seem fond of acting upon very different principles. When it was in our power to enjoy, undisturbed, an unrivalled superiority in Greece, we wantonly endangered it: but now that our circumstances call us to war and danger, we cautiously avoid them; and despising pre-eminence, seek only for preservation. Yet those who value their independence, must reject every proposal which assumes the tone of a command; they must never enter into treaty, unless superior to their enemies, or at least on an equal footing with them; for it is a peace concluded in such circumstances alone, that consists either with their honour or security.

If you are not altogether insensible to the force of this reasoning, you will spurn the shameful proposals which are now made to you, and discover as much spirit in defending your own rights, as you have often displayed in protecting those of your allies. You must remember to have often heard that, in former times, if any one Spartan came to the assistance of your
neighbours,

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neighbours, with whatever dangers they might be beset, he was received as the forerunner of their deliverance, and not uncommonly procured it. The aged can relate many examples of this kind; I myself remember some of the most considerable. Paidaretus, sailing to Chios, saved the capital of that island from destruction. Brasidas, travelling to Amphipolis, and collecting a handful of those who were blocked up within its walls, made so successful a sally upon the numerous forces which besieged them, that they were glad to retire from the place. Gylippus¹, by assisting the Syracusans, not only delivered them from danger, but rendered them masters of the persons of their enemies, who were far superior in number, and who had already vanquished them by sea and land. If individuals then have displayed so much bravery in defending the territories of others, shall we, united in one body, submit to the disgrace of meanly surrendering our own? Shall we who have filled Europe and Asia with the trophies acquired in protecting our allies, decline to risk one engagement in behalf of our own security? And those calamities which we compelled others to suffer, in order to subject them to our dominion, shall we ourselves, in defence of our own rights, be unwilling to endure? While yet we maintain generous steeds, and live in abundance, shall we comply with such terms of peace as ought only to be imposed on those who are deprived of the first necessities of life? It would be most unworthy of our former character; and instead of being any longer respected on account of that persevering fortitude and daring intrepidity which distinguished us above all the other Greeks, we should be despised for being shamefully deficient in those very qualities. Who

¹ The facts here mentioned happened during the Peloponnesian war.

would

would henceforth be afraid to injure men whom the loss of one battle had dispirited, and whom their enemies, by one single incursion into their country, had frightened into an abject compliance? What vigorous allies in time of danger! How bravely would they support all the misfortunes of war! I am persuaded there is no man so base as not to condemn us if we thus easily cede a territory, which our ancestors were at such pains to acquire. They became masters of Messene by a siege of twenty years; in the course of which they exposed themselves to incredible dangers, and suffered intolerable fatigue. And shall we thus shamefully abandon it?

But the advocates for peace are so far from being affected with the sentiments which we all ought to feel, that they urge your present weakness, compared with the strength of your opponents, as an argument for persuading you into submission. Then they contemptuously ask such as advise you to assert your rights, by what means they can possibly hope to maintain them? What assistance they expect? What alliances they have formed? I answer, that the most powerful of all assistants, the firmest of all allies, is justice, and that surely is with us. If we may reason upon futurity by what we daily experience, the Gods support the cause of the just. Besides, we have an equal constitution of government, a temperate and regular way of living, an ardor for military glory, and an ambition for honest fame; we have these I say for allies, and for my own part, I would not exchange them for any power or numbers. It was through the influence of their virtues alone, that our ancestors acquired Messene, and by these we shall be still able to preserve it: No revolution of fortune has as yet engaged

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engaged us to alter our ancient institutions, in which, while we are determined to retain them, we shall always find such a resource, that our affairs can never become desperate.

The present situation of the enemy ought, likewise, to give us no small encouragement. They are vainly elated with a degree of prosperity, of which their behaviour proves them to be unworthy. They are united together in no one consistent plan. Some are preparing to render themselves masters of free cities, which others are determined to protect. Several are engaged in disputes with one another, about the extent of their frontier; and all are too much biassed by private views, and occupied by particular quarrels, to carry on the war either with concord or vigour. But what assistance can be more powerful than the errors and disunion of those against whom we contend?

If I must still, however, speak of foreign alliances, I affirm that there are many powers which will arm to defend us. First of all, the Athenians, how indifferent soever they may be as to our interest, are not altogether blind to their own^s. This will compel them to take arms in our favour; and several states of Greece will think it prudent to imitate their example. Besides, Dionysius the tyrant^t, the king of

^s The Athenians, he observes, would endeavour to prevent the Thebans from becoming too powerful; the common liberty, and their particular safety, might otherwise be endangered. The principles concerning the balance of power, though not so much extended as at present, when they are often employed to conceal ignorance, to defend absurdities, and to justify violence, were not altogether unknown in Greece.

^t The Syracusans considered themselves as a colony of the Lacedæmonians, and were attached to the Mother Country on account of many good offices and frequent assistance which they had received from it. (Suidas. *Ifoc. in Pan.*)

Egypt,

Egypt, and many princes of Asia ^u will assist us to the utmost of their power. The leading men in Greece ^w, those whom their wealth, their fame, and their virtues have elevated above the vulgar, though they do not follow our standard, yet accompany us with their good wishes; and this at least should inspire us with confidence. I am of opinion too, that the crowd of Peloponnesus ^x, that mob upon which we at first too vainly relied, will at length return to their duty. They have obtained none of those advantages, the expectation of which induced them to revolt. Instead of extending their liberties, they have been subjected to a more rigorous servitude: deprived of their best citizens, they have fallen victims to the most audacious and profligate: deluded by the hopes of living in independence, and of enjoying their own laws, they have been thrown into the most lawless anarchy and most licentious disorder. They, who were accustomed to accompany us in our expeditions against distant enemies, now see their own country a prey to every invader: The seditions, at the relation of which they used to shudder, they now daily experience. Overwhelmed and confounded in one common calamity, they are unable to determine which of them is most miserable. No one

^u All these had lately been much indebted to the assistance of Agesilaus, one of the Spartan kings; and this state was their natural protector against the ambition of the king of Persia.

^w Sparta was always considered as that state in Greece which discovered the greatest antipathy against popular licentiousness. It was at the head of the aristocratical party; so that all those citizens in the several republics, who thought themselves entitled, by their rank and fortune, to a certain pre-eminence above the vulgar, naturally favoured its interest, and desired its preservation.

^x The Megalopolitans, Arcadians, &c. who had revolted to the Thebans.

people have escaped. Their lands have been laid waste ; their cities desolated ; the most respectable families exterminated ; and that constitution, and those laws, under which they were the happiest of men, overturned from the foundation.

Private citizens are inspired with more animosity against one another than against the public enemy. Instead of that abundance which they enjoyed, and that harmony which prevailed among them, while they remained subject to our government, the greater part are in want of the first necessities of life ; and while the rich, rather than supply the poor, would throw their wealth into the sea, the poor are less desirous to better their own circumstances, than to plunder their fellow-citizens. Nor do they respect what is sacred any more than what is profane. They butcher one another at the altars, which no longer afford any refuge ; and there are at present more fugitives from some particular cities, than there were formerly from all Peloponnesus. I omit to mention many of their calamities, which it is impossible to describe ; for nothing dreadful or disastrous can be imagined, that has not been here realised. Tired out with the misfortunes of their present situation, the greater part are already desirous to change it : the rest will soon have their full measure of distress, and will begin to seek for relief. This I affirm with confidence, for it is impossible that those who could not patiently endure even good fortune, should be capable of long supporting adversity. We ought not therefore to number the Peloponnesians among the enemies whom we shall be obliged to oppose. We might easily conquer them by force of arms ; but this will not be necessary : they will of their own accord submit, and, gladly returning to their duty, again court
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our friendship, and accept of our alliance^y as the only means by which their own misfortunes can be alleviated. Such then are my hopes, and such is the assistance which we may expect.

But had we nothing of this kind to look for, and were the one half of Greece not more ready to do us wrong than the other to abet them in their injustice, I should still be of opinion that we ought rather to endure all the hardships of war, than accept of such a treaty: For it would be shameful for us to be reduced to the necessity of acknowledging either that our ancestors unjustly acquired Messene, or that we allow ourselves to be unjustly deprived of it. No; we can never make such an acknowledgment, nor degenerate so far from our former virtues, as to disgrace those who have praised them. They ought not to be convicted of flattery by our cowardice: we must endeavour to afford them a new subject of panegyric.

Though I think it probable, therefore, that we have already experienced the worst that we have to suffer, that fortune will soon prove more favourable, and our affairs be speedily retrieved through the folly and mistakes of our enemies; yet should these expectations be vain, should we be excluded from every refuge, and even unable to defend the city itself, I have still one resolution to propose,—harsh indeed and severe—but I will declare it with full freedom, for it is more worthy of the sentiments of Spartans, it is more worthy of being discovered to the Greeks, than the notions which some men have disclosed. I assert then, that, in case of the last extremity, you ought to remove from Sparta your parents, wives, children, and all

^y The more powerful states of Greece frequently gave the moderate name of alliance to that subjection in which they kept the weaker.

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those who are unfit to bear arms. You may transport them to Italy, Sicily, Cyrene², or to the continent of Asia. The inhabitants of those countries will receive them with open arms, give them lands to cultivate, and supply them with every thing that is wanting to their security and support; for they themselves have either already experienced our favours, or will be glad to deserve them. Those who are of an age fit for enduring the hardships of war, must likewise abandon the city, and carry nothing out of it which cannot easily be transported. They must then fix upon some post, well fortified by nature, and which art may render secure against every hostile assault. This must, henceforth, be their city; and from this, as a centre, they must on all sides infect the enemy by sea and land, until they become reasonable in their demands, and allow us to enjoy our possessions in quiet. If we have the courage to embrace this resolution, we shall soon receive the submissions of those who now impose their commands: They will sue for peace, and intreat us to take back Messene. For what people in Peloponnesus could long support the calamities, in which such a war as we might thus carry on, must involve them? What state would not tremble at an army, thus formed and collected, which had gathered courage from despair, which was animated with a just resentment, despising the sweets of life compared to the honours of victory, and which, while in military exercises and address it possessed all the advantages of those who make war their profession, had been trained to those civil institutions and virtues, known and practised among the Spartans alone?

² Cyrene was a city in Theffaly situated on Mount Cyra, founded by Battus, who conducted a colony of Lacedæmonians thither. (Pausan. in Lacon.)

How

How could they annoy an enemy, confined to no particular place, but ranging at large, living under the open air, transporting themselves wherever an opportunity of action called them, and regarding as their city and country whatever station seemed most advantageous for war? I am persuaded that the very report of such a design would throw our enemies into consternation. What effect then must the execution of it produce? They would be obliged to suffer the severest injuries, without being able to retort them; their cities would be blocked up, while Sparta could suffer nothing by a siege; and their hungry citizens would perish through famine, while a camp, like ours, might easily be supplied. How much sorer these circumstances might affect them, they would be still more dejected, when they perceived that even our slaves lived in such abundance by the plunder of the enemy, as they could never hope to procure for their own families, and that whether they laboured the ground, or allowed it to remain uncultivated, they reaped the same fruits from their industry or neglect.

But perhaps it may be said that it depends only on themselves to prevent all these calamities, by uniting their numerous forces into one body, and bravely opposing us in the field. Yet in the name of the Gods! what more could we desire, than thus to meet them on equal terms? The advantages of a regular army, over raw undisciplined troops, assembled from various nations, and conducted by different leaders, are immense. The time does not permit me to enumerate them. It is sufficient to observe, that if our enemies should take the field against us, we might draw them into an engagement, whenever the opportunity was most favourable for ourselves, and thus obtain a victory, not less easy than compleat.

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It is neither by the extent of our territories, nor by the number of our citizens; that we have been enabled so long to maintain a superiority over the rest of the Greeks. We are indebted for this advantage to a system of laws, which teaches us to command and to obey, and which renders our city, even in time of peace, like a well-regulated camp. But if we render it in effect what it only seems, and establish in reality that of which the imitation alone has been of so great utility, what advantages may we not expect, what enemy will be able to withstand us?

Our ancestors, when they arrived in Peloponnesus, made the most important conquests with an inconsiderable force. We have lately departed too widely from their example, and we have felt the fatal effects of this deviation: Let us again therefore return into the path of honour, and we shall recover our ancient renown; but we must for ever lose all pretensions to it, if we now abandon Messene. For what humility to confess that the Athenians abandoned their city and their country for the general safety of Greece, while the Spartans had not spirit to embrace such a resolution even for their own security? It would be still more infamous for us to acknowledge that the Phocians^a, rather than submit to the dominion of the Great King, fled from Asia, and settled in Marseilles, while *we* tamely received the commands of a superior, and shewed ourselves incapable of imitating those generous exploits, of which it becomes us to set the example. You must never be subjected to such disgrace; you must not even imagine that you can

^a The Phocians here mentioned inhabited Ionia. (Thucidid. B. I.)

suffer it, nor reflect on the uneasiness of parting with those who are most dear to you, but on that glorious day when you will again receive your relations into the bosom of the city, after having given an illustrious proof that your present calamities are the accidental effect of bad fortune, which is common to all, while your past victories and glory are the natural reward of those virtues which are peculiar to you.

Such then is the resolution that, in case we were reduced to the last extremities, I think it worthy of our former fame to embrace; but I hope our circumstances will never be so unhappy as to require the execution of it. I have made such a proposal, therefore, not because I believe that our present affairs may not be retrieved by easier means, but to prepare your minds for enduring every calamity to which the maintaining of your honour may expose you: Nor would I so earnestly insist on continuing the war, if I were not persuaded that this is the only method by which you may obtain a lasting and honourable peace. That which is now offered you is equally infamous and deceitful. For who can be ignorant that, if we allow a neighbouring and rival state to acquire such an accession of power as the conquest of Messene would necessarily bestow on it, we must, henceforth, be exposed to perpetual alarms, and live in the utmost insecurity. Those, therefore, who, from a mistaken regard to your safety, are disposed to accept of peace upon such a condition, what do they but desire to obtain tranquillity for a few days, at the price of a war which may never be terminated? And I should gladly be informed, what occasion more urgent than the present, can ever summon us to danger? When can we more honourably expose our lives than in defence of what is just? What may not our enemies

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enemies attempt, if we allow them to dismember our territories, to emancipate our slaves, and to add insults to injury, by settling them in that country which our ancestors so gloriously acquired? Rather than submit to such indignities, we ought not only to carry on a war, but to suffer banishment and death; for it is better to die with the character of which we are still possessed, than to survive the loss of it. If I may declare my opinion with full freedom, I should wish that the state itself might be utterly destroyed, before it became contemptible. A people who have acted upon the principles that have hitherto directed the Spartans, and who have arrived at that pre-eminence, and those honours by which we are so illustriously distinguished, have but one choice to make. They can never be guilty of baseness; they must command or perish. We ought not, therefore, to be influenced by the timid solicitations of our allies, whose opinions we are accustomed to controul; we are not to consider what terms of peace may be most agreeable to their cowardice and sloth; nor should we allow the love of life, conspiring with *their* servility, to prevail on us to accept of any conditions that are unworthy of our former renown.

In the same situation of affairs, different states must not be guided by the same principles, nor act upon a similar plan. Each must maintain the uniformity of that character which it has assumed. The Phlians, the inhabitants of Corinth and Epidaurus^b, may, without exciting surprise, appear to be only solicitous about the safety of their persons: it is not glory, but existence, that they desire. But the Spartans must not

^b This is said not only because these states were little distinguished in war, but because they solicited the Lacedæmonians to accept of the conditions of peace offered them by the Thebans.

barely

barely exist, but live in honour; and, if that be impossible, they must die. This maxim ought to govern their deliberations in the council, as well as their actions in the field. Concerning the former, indeed, they ought to be particularly solicitous; because fortune may decide the event of a battle, but the resolutions taken in this assembly, are the free result of their sentiments. For my own part, I can conceive no reason why individuals should be willing, at the risque of their lives, to defend their private estate, and to maintain their personal characters, while, united in one body, they suffer their common inheritance to be destroyed, and abandon that public character in Greece which their ancestors have bequeathed them. Shall the descendants of those who nobly contended for superiority, be unwilling to fight for independence? Shall they who even themselves have been accustomed to the dignity of command, be guilty of a mean submission? How should we appear at the Olympic games, and other public assemblies?—or shall we ever dare to appear at them? At these general conventions of the Greeks, a citizen of Sparta used to be looked upon with more admiration, and to be treated with greater respect, than even the combatants who had been crowned with victory. But instead of honour we shall now meet with contempt, the respect before paid us will be converted into ridicule, and we shall be as remarkable on account of our disgrace, as we were formerly distinguished for our virtues. When the public sacrifices are to be performed, we shall see those who were once our slaves, but who are now masters of our inheritance, present richer offerings to the Gods than we ourselves can afford them. This will be an occasion of no small triumph over us; for we must patiently

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endure those insults and reproaches of which slaves, when placed on an equal footing with their masters, are naturally so lavish. Ours indeed have been treated with extraordinary severity, so that their raillery will be uncommonly severe. It is impossible to express what uneasiness it will give you. If then you would not be afterwards exposed to this humiliation and disgrace, you must at present concert such measures as will enable you to avoid them : It is now only that this choice can be made ; and surely there is nothing which ought not to be hazarded rather than that you, who before disdained to live on an equal footing with freemen, should be subjected to the insults of slaves. If this could ever take place, we should be regarded as vain boasters, who, though their principles were not more noble than those of other men, had put on a splendid mask of fictitious magnanimity ; and we should confirm the cavils of our enemies, at a time when we have the most glorious opportunity to refute them. Let us never so shamefully betray our former fame, but recollecting that combat of our ancestors, in which, with one file of men, they gained a trophy over many myriads of the Arcadians ; calling to mind the three hundred Spartans who opposed and vanquished at Thyrea^c the whole force of Argos ; remembering the one thousand at Thermopylæ, who, encountering seven hundred thousand Barbarians,

^c The city of Thyrea was situated on the confines of Argos and Lacedæmon, and occasioned frequent contentions between these states. At length it was agreed that three hundred champions on the side of the Argives, and as many Spartans, should take the field, and decide the right to Thyrea, and its territory, by the event of a battle. Both parties engaged with ardor ; and the combat continued till only two Argives remained, and Othryades a Spartan. Darkness came on, so that the Argives believing

rians, neither fled nor were worsted, but gloriously ending their lives where they were drawn up to fight, displayed a degree of virtue which it is beyond the reach of eloquence fully to celebrate;—reflecting on all these examples of ancient prowess, let us be animated to valour, let us vigorously persist in the war, and, without depending upon foreign aid, confide in our native bravery, and repel, by fortitude alone, the calamities with which we are threatened.

It is such an occasion only as the present that can afford an opportunity for the truly virtuous to exhibit their character in its full lustre. Prosperity is so favourable to the coward, that it may even conceal his baseness^d; but those misfortunes, which make *him* known and despised, enable the brave to shew themselves in their genuine colours. We ought to avail ourselves, therefore, of our present situation, which not only permits, but requires us to display the superiority of those maxims in which we have been educated.

believing they had obtained a complete victory, returned home in triumph. Othryades, now become master of the field, erected a trophy, by heaping together the dead bodies. As it thus became difficult to decide which party was conqueror, hostilities again commenced between the two states, many battles were fought, and victory at length declared itself on the side of the Lacedæmonians. (Herodotus, l. i. Pausan. in Argol.) As the orator mentions the number of three hundred Spartans, it seems, at first sight, that he alludes to the battle above related: but as his account by no means agrees with that of the historians, it is rather probable that he hints at some fact of which we are no where else informed. This is likewise the case with what he says of the victory over the Arcadians; and many events are mentioned by the Greek orators, which none of their historians have transmitted to us.

^d This passage is imitated by Demosthenes in the second Olynthiac: the beginning of this discourse also, resembles very much the beginning of the first Philippic of Demosthenes.

Nor is it improbable that the result of the present transactions may be very different from what you are inclined to imagine. You cannot be ignorant that the consequences of many events, at first sight deemed extremely calamitous, have in the end proved in the highest degree advantageous. I need not recur to distant examples: the leading states in Greece, those of Athens and Thebes, have acquired distinction and greatness, not during the security of peace, but amidst the dangers of war. Adversity compelled them to exert their utmost vigour; their misfortunes rendered them insensible to danger; they learned at length to conquer, after they had been frequently overcome. It is thus that the one of those states obtained a superiority over all their neighbours, and that the other has lately risen to such a station among the Greeks, as it could never have been expected to assume. The splendor of glory, the lustre of eminence, the dignity of power, these are not the fruits of inactivity, but the prizes of victory and labour. It is worthy of us to contend for them; and in so glorious a contest, our bodies, our fortunes, and our lives, are all wisely endangered. For if we can again elevate the city to that consideration and power from which she has unfortunately fallen, we shall not only eclipse the glory of our ancestors, but exhibit such a degree of virtue as our posterity can never hope to excel, and as those who celebrate the renown of Sparta can never pretend, by the most elaborate panegyric, sufficiently to extol.

It ought not at present to escape you, that the curiosity of all men has been excited, and that their attention is now fixed upon the deliberations of this assembly. You are placed as on the public theatre of Greece, where each individual must give
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an exhibition of those principles which inspire him, and of those virtues by which he is animated. The path of honour and safety lies open before you. If you now shrink from danger, it will continue to hang over you; war, disorder, and sedition, will be the certain fruits of your present timidity, and will heighten your disgrace: but if you determine to die in defence of your rights, you will not only procure immediate applause, but perpetual security. Let us therefore, encouraging one another, endeavour to gain new trophies for our country; let us never expose the name of Lacedæmon to insult and contempt, disappoint the hopes of those who take pleasure in our fame, or exchange, for the short tenure of a precarious life, that distinguished reputation which we have so universally obtained. It is honourable to sacrifice your lives for immortal renown, and to purchase, at the mean price of a miserable existence, such an accession of glory as shall descend unimpaired to your most distant posterity. This consideration ought to rouse your courage; for if you imagined your ancestors and posterity to be present in this assembly, the former exhorting you not to betray the fame of Sparta, not to disgrace the victories which they won, nor to dishonour those institutions by which you yourselves have been formed; the latter requiring at your hands the possession of that country which they justly claim as their right, and that pre-eminence in Greece which they regard as their inheritance. Could you deny the propriety of the exhortation, or the justice of the demand? Must you not allow the one to be as reasonable as the other is well founded?—I conclude with observing, that, during all the wars and dangers in which your ancestors have been engaged,

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the enemy never raised a trophy over them when conducted by a prince of my ^e family : And it is surely the wisest part to follow the advice of those in the council, under whom we have been most successful in the field.

^e Two different branches of the family of the Heraclidæ reigned conjointly in Sparta ; the one descended from Eurysthenes, the other from Procles ; Archidamus sprung from the latter.

AN
ORATION
WRITTEN BY
ISOCRATES,

EXHORTING

The ATHENIANS, to conclude a PEACE with their
TRIBUTARY STATES which had
revolted from them.

7

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is, perhaps, no work extant, that affords a more complete and satisfactory view of the politics of Greece, than that which is given in the following oration. The maxims and reasonings which are employed in it can never be unseasonable, while the governing part of every state is guided by avarice, ambition, and that unhappy train of passions with which the right to exercise power too naturally corrupts the heart. The orator, in order to moderate these dangerous inclinations in the Athenian assembly, which was invested with the whole majesty of that republic, explains the fatal consequences with which the gratification of them must be attended. He illustrates his observations on this subject by examples drawn from the history of his own country, and of the rest of Greece; and he points out to the Athenians the best means of promoting their national happiness and security.

When Isocrates addressed his countrymen on this important subject, the affairs of Greece had returned to a situation nearly resembling that in which they had been placed before the commencement^f of the Peloponnesian war. The battle of Leuctra had given a fatal blow to the power of Sparta. Thebes had lost her short-lived superiority in the field of Mantinea. Athens, rising on the ruins of her rivals, made good her ancient pretensions, and assumed her former pre-eminence. Unaccustomed to good fortune, she seemed unable to bear it^g; the

^f See Discourse on the History of Greece.

^g Isoc. Areop.

vexations which she formerly exercised against her dependent states were renewed, and even exceeded^b; and the islands of Chios, Rhodes, Coos, as well as the city of Byzantium, provoked by her injustice and rapacity, were compelled openly to revolt. The Athenians prepared a fleet of sixty sail, and appointed Chares and Chabrias to employ it against the rebels. These generals sailed for the isle of Chios, where they found that the enemy, informed of their motions, had assembled the greatest part of their forces. But this did not prevent them from acting with spirit in order to quash at once the hopes of the insurgents. They besieged the capital of Chios by sea and land; the islanders defended themselves with vigour. Chares, who commanded the Athenian army, repulsed their sallies; but the vessel of Chabrias being broken in pieces, he himself was slain, and the Athenian fleetⁱ compelled to retire. Encouraged by this success against enemies who at first pretended to despise them, the rebels augmented their navy, and ravaged the islands of Lemnos and Samos, which belonged to the Athenians. These next year sent out another fleet of sixty sail, under the command of Iphicrates and Timotheus, the bravest and most experienced of their generals. This squadron joined that commanded by Chares, who now cruised in the Hellespont. The generals determined to lay siege to Byzantium, which obliged the rebels to collect their whole forces in order to defend that place. The hostile armaments approached each other, and were preparing for action, when a violent storm arose, which made Iphicrates and Timotheus judge proper to decline the engagement. Chares alone insisted on giving battle; but being

^b B. Ch. 361.

ⁱ Diod. Rhodom. p. 412.

over-ruled by his colleagues, he called the soldiers to witness their opposition, and sent dispatches to Athens, accusing them of incapacity or cowardice. The Athenians, who were never slow to believe any malignant report, deprived^k them of their command, and condemned each of them to pay a fine of several talents.

Chares, now sole general, made a very extraordinary use of the power with which he was intrusted. Instead of carrying on the operations against the rebels, he lent assistance to Pharnabazus, a Persian governor, who, having revolted from his master, was in danger of being crushed by an army of seventy thousand men. The superior bravery of the Athenian troops enabled him not only to avoid destruction, but even to conquer the forces of the Great King. Chares was amply rewarded for this service by Pharnabazus, who furnished him with every thing necessary for satisfying the demands of his soldiers.

The whole of this transaction, how extraordinary soever it might appear in the present age, neither surprised nor displeased the Athenians. They were accustomed to allow their generals to act without instructions or controul; and they considered it as good management in Chares to pay his troops without putting the state to any expence on their account. But a short time afterwards the court of Persia sent to Athens to complain of an infraction of the treaty subsisting between that republic and the Great King; and threatened, that, unless they met with complete satisfaction, they would assist the rebels with a fleet of three hundred sail. They actually prepared for executing this resolution, which obliged the Athenians to put an end to the social war, by declaring the tributary states which had revolted from them, altogether free and independent^l.

^k Diodor. Rhodom. p. 424.

^l Diodor. ubi supra, 357 before Christ.

CHAPTER IV. THE NEW YORK

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IT is usual with public speakers, to exaggerate the importance of their subject, and to use every art to persuade you, that above all other topics of discourse, the present deserves your most serious regard. If such a preface could ever be applied with propriety, it is surely to the matter in deliberation. We are assembled to treat of war and peace, objects of the utmost consequence, and on which the fate of human affairs in a great measure depends. Such is the dignity of the subject, but your behaviour is nowise correspondent to it: For you listen not to the parties with candour; and receiving with applause all that is said on one side of the question, you allow not the advocates for the other to raise their voice in its defence. This behaviour, indeed, is neither new nor surprising: You are accustomed to reject with disdain whatever does not gratify your passions; you are accustomed to receive without examination whatever concurs with your desires; and your conduct in these respects has long been the object of satire. For no people know better
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than you, the unhappy effects of flattery. How many families of distinction have you seen reduced to beggary by a herd of parasitical attendants? And how contemptible do those appear, who in private life become a prey to such seducers? But in your public conduct you imitate their example, and repose more confidence in those who flatter you than in all the rest of the citizens.

This disposition in you has changed the views of your speakers; they have abandoned all concern for the public interest; they study and compose only to please your inclinations, and when they have discovered a poison agreeable to your taste, they come hither, in crowds, to retail it. This was never more the case than with those who have given their opinion in the present question. It was evident to them, that you would applaud the partisans of the war, rather than the advisers of the peace. The first dazzle your minds, elevate your hopes give you expectations of dividing the spoils of other states^m, and of raising Athens to her former superiority. The second propose none of these advantages; instead of inflaming your ambition, they would inspire you with justice; and they advise you to rest satisfied with your present circumstances and condition, an advice which few men can support. For so delusive are our hopes, and our desires so insatiable, that in the midst of security and abundance we despise what we might enjoy, and for the uncertain prospect of adding to our

^m During the prosperity of their country, the Athenians had acquired rich estates in the territories of the different people, who were engaged in the present war. As in all probability they had not been very scrupulous about the means of obtaining these possessions, they would naturally be deprived of them, if the revolted cities were not again reduced to obedience. Private rapacity, therefore, conspired with public ambition, in engaging the Athenians to desire that this might be effected.

happiness, often destroy it. This, you say, is folly; you are right: But consider, whether you are not yourselves guilty of this folly. For what else is this rage for war, this ardor for taking the field, not as if you had been advised to it by men of very ordinary capacities, but as if some god, acquainted with futurity, had predicted your success. Men of sense do not assemble to deliberate on what they have already determined; they execute their resolutions; and when met to resolve, they lay down that plan which appears most advantageous, and leave the event to fortune. But you act a very different part, and pretending to come hither in order to receive advice upon the state of your affairs, and to embrace that measure which is best supported by argument, you act as if already convinced of what is proper to be done, and disdain to hear any proposal which does not flatter your passions.

Yet such proposals ought ever to be most suspected. The passions themselves are extremely eloquent, and the orator, whose cause they favour, may easily obscure the truth and blind you to every true sentiment of interest. But the man who opposes your passions, has no opportunity to deceive; he must support himself by reason alone, and his arguments, unless founded on the most evident utility, can never be persuasive. Besides, how can we form a proper judgment of what is past, or conjecture wisely about what is to come, unless we balance the opinions of those who are at variance, and behave with the nicest justice between the contending parties? I wonder, if the young have not heard, if the old do not remember, that no disadvantage ever resulted to us from the advice of pacific men, while by those who rashly encouraged us to war, we were involved in the greatest calamities. But we forget all this; we
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are bent on making war, and without having any determinate object in view, we are prepared to launch our fleet, to pay our contributions, to assist or to attack indiscriminately, and all this with as much indifference as if it were not our own country that we exposed to danger. The reason of such extravagance is, because we pay much less attention to the public interests than to our private concerns. In the latter, we take the advice of men more experienced than ourselves. But in our public assemblies, we distrust, we envy such men. There the most riotous are the most popular; the mild voice of reason is overpowered by the tumultuous dissonance of passion; we hear and applaud only the most profligate, and bestow more honours on those who dissipate the treasures of the state, than on such as support it with their private fortunes. Is it possible, that under such advisers you should ever pass a decree that is useful?

I am not insensible of the danger to which I now expose myself. I know that this pretended liberty in which we glory, extends only to the buffoons on your theatreⁿ, to the most inconsiderate and seditious in your public assemblies. I know, what of all is most intolerable, that you think yourselves more indebted to such as disgrace you before the whole world, than to your real benefactors, and that your bitterest enemies are those who seek to undeceive you. Though sensible of all this, I desist not from my purpose, for I came not hither to solicit your protection: I have no votes to seduce, no fa-

ⁿ The remains of Aristophanes, sufficiently prove the licentiousness of the ancient comedians. He often attacks not only the measures of the government, but the character of those who administered it. The rich and poor, virtuous and profligate, gods and men, are all involved in one continued flow of insolent undiscerning ridicule.

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vours to demand : I come barely to declare my opinion, first, upon the question which the presidents of the assembly have proposed, and afterwards on the general state of our affairs ; for unless these be placed on a different footing, even the peace itself will not avail you.

I am of opinion then, and I aver, that we ought to make peace not only with the Chians and Rhodians, the inhabitants of Byzantium and Coos, but with all our enemies in general. The articles ought not to be such as are now proposed, but the same with those which were formerly agreed on between the king of Persia and the Lacedæmonians°. According to these, all Greece is to be governed by its own laws ; no state is permitted to keep garrisons in the territories of its neighbours, but each is left free and independent. What conditions can be more equitable in themselves, or more beneficial to Athens ? Should I here conclude, I know what an outcry would be raised against me. What ! Do you advise us to abandon Thespiæ, Plataea, and other cities, of which the Thebans, in direct opposition to the most solemn treaties, have deprived us ? And shall we cede, without the most urgent necessity, the territories which we still possess ? Yes, if you listen to me with patience, you will be persuaded, that it is folly to think of profiting by iniquity, and of maintaining by violence what has been unjustly acquired. The consequences of this conduct, I shall prove to be always destructive. This is the

° Isocrates here means the peace of Antalcidas, the terms of which he approves, as declaring the freedom and independence of all the Grecian states in Europe. But in other parts of his works, he severely blames the authors of this peace, for surrendering the liberties of the Asiatic Greeks to the king of Persia, and for entering into a treaty which, in as far as it regarded Europe, they had no intention to observe. See Discourse on the History of Greece, and the Panegyric of Athens.

design of my discourse, this is the object of which I shall never lose sight.

Let us begin with the peace, and first determine what would at present satisfy us. If we settle this point with precision, we shall have a standard to direct us through the whole course of our reasoning. If Athens then were rendered secure against all danger from abroad, if the causes of our internal dissensions were removed, and if, while we ourselves enjoyed all the means of happiness and pleasure, we acquired the universal esteem of the Greeks, would that be sufficient? For my part, I fancy we should have nothing further to desire; our state would then have attained the ultimate pitch of felicity. But the war alone deprives us of these advantages. Our property is alienated or exhausted, we are exposed to continual dangers, and we daily lose our reputation among the Greeks. By making a peace, however, upon such a plan as equity requires, we still have it in our power to re-establish our affairs, to repel all danger from abroad, and to settle those internal commotions which so much distress us. Our riches will continually increase, for we shall have no officers to maintain, no galleys to equip, no extraordinary taxes to raise, but cultivating the soil in peace, and joyfully sailing the ocean, we shall restore agriculture, commerce, and all those arts which the war has so long banished. We shall in a short time double the revenues of the state: The city will be crowded with foreign merchants, of whom many will constantly reside there, and others will resort to it occasionally: What is of still more importance, all our neighbours will voluntarily become our allies. They will not favour us when successful, and desert us in our adversity, but,
engaged

engaged more from sentiment than interest, they will act the part of true friends and associates.

Besides, we may obtain by negociation, what, I am afraid, we shall never acquire by arms. Do not believe, that Kerfobleptes would contend with you for the Chersonese^p, or Philip for Amphipolis, if they found you disposed to set any bounds to your usurpations. At present they dread you as neighbours, because, ever unsatisfied with your condition and present power, you have always in agitation some new plan of ambition. But if you change your manners, they will alter their views, they will abstain from invading your territories, they will restore even their conquests, and they will desire to promote your grandeur in order to secure their own.

If you desire to extend your possessions, Thrace lies open before you. On this side, there is enough of land not only to satisfy the Athenians, but even to supply with comfortable settlements all those Greeks, who having no fixed habitation, lead a miserable, vagabond life, in strolling from one country to another. Here Athenadorus and Callistratus^q, the first a private person, the second an exile, have founded cities and established colonies. Athens is surely in the most favourable situation for improving to the best advantage such portions of this country as still remain unoccupied; and this would be an object more

^p Kerfobleptes, son of Cotys, king of that part of Thrace, lying near the Chersonesus.

^q The former was a soldier of fortune, in the service of Berisades, a king in Thrace. He is here called a private person, in opposition to Callistratus, who flourished as an orator at Athens, and acquired great glory by a pleading for the city of Oropus. Demosthenes, at the age of sixteen, was present on this occasion, and the honours conferred on Callistratus, first inspired him with the ambition of becoming a public speaker. Plutarch in Vit. Demosth. Demosth. cont. Mid.

worthy the attention of the mistress of Greece, than the collecting of mercenary armies in order to enslave her neighbours.

With regard to what your ambassadors should report, this perhaps may suffice. But it is not enough to vote a peace, unless you take such measures as may preserve it. The treaties which you have lately made, are productive of no lasting advantage; they are not cures but palliatives, and after their momentary force is spent, our disorders break out with redoubled violence. In order thoroughly to remove them, you must be convinced, that justice is not more preferable to iniquity, than tranquillity to contention, and moderation to ambition. These are topics on which your speakers are afraid to address you; but they shall be the subject of my discourse. For I am persuaded they might be the source of your security, and that the measures which you now pursue, must terminate in your destruction.

The speaker who quits the ordinary path, and endeavours to change your whole system and designs, must enter into many details, which unavoidably swell his discourse. He must recal the past transactions of this and the neighbouring states, commending what is praise-worthy, blaming what is amiss, exhorting and advising you; and after all, there is a possibility he may not effectuate his purpose. For the matter stands thus: All men desire to promote their own interest; each would be more wealthy and more powerful than his neighbour. But by what steps to arrive at this superiority, is a matter extremely uncertain, and about which there is a great diversity of opinions. Many private persons, and some states, are very happy in their conjectures, as we may conclude from

from their success: others are exceedingly unfortunate, for example, the inhabitants of Athens. For provided we cover the sea with galleys, lay our neighbours under contribution, and oblige them to send hither their magistrates; we fancy that all is well, and that we are advancing in the sure road to opulence and power. An unpardonable mistake! For as by this conduct we were once reduced to the greatest distress, so have we no reason to look for more happy consequences by persisting in it. But by the practice of justice and moderation, and by relieving the oppressed, we obtained a voluntary empire in Greece, an empire which we unreasonably affect to despise. And to such extravagance of folly are some arrived, that they talk of injustice as dishonourable indeed, but not disadvantageous, and of justice as a thing extremely praise-worthy, but more convenient for others, than for those who practise it. Wretched sophistry! as if wealth, power, honour, in one word, happiness itself, were not the reward of virtue; as if the virtues of the mind were not accompanied with every other advantage; as if such as neglect them were not blind to their truest interest; and the temperate, the brave, and the just, were not especially favoured both by gods and men. For my own part, I am persuaded, that these alone obtain what is truly useful, while the unjust become the victims of gain; and like creatures which are caught with a bait, purchase an accidental pleasure at the price of absolute destruction. But the pious and just live perfectly secure, and eternal felicity lies open to their prospect.

As the cause of justice in general prevails, and as we cannot see into futurity, we assuredly ought to prefer that conduct
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which is for the most part successful. And how absurd is it not to prefer what we acknowledge to be most praise-worthy, and most amiable in the sight of the gods!

But I am afraid, that I speak in vain, for you have been long corrupted by a set of men, whose sole talent consists in deceiving you. The gross artifices which they employ, shew their contempt of your understanding. When they have been bribed to involve you in a war, they discourse on the glory of imitating your ancestors, and entreat that you would not render yourselves the objects of public ridicule, by permitting your neighbours to navigate the sea without paying a contribution. But I should be glad to know which of your ancestors they would have you imitate; those who lived during the Persian wars, or those who administered your affairs immediately before the war of Decelia. If they propose the latter, they only advise you once more to become slaves. But if they speak of the conquerors at Marathon, is it not the utmost absurdity to celebrate the virtues of those heroes, and with the same breath to exhort their posterity to maintain a conduct directly opposite to theirs, a conduct so shameful, that I am uncertain whether I may safely venture to expose it? For I know, you feel more resentment against those who blame your mistakes, than against those who lead you to commit them. But I will speak, I will prefer your safety to my own; convinced, that it is the duty of those who love their country to propose, not the most flattering, but the most useful advice. And you should receive it with patience, considering, that there are many prescriptions for diseases of the body, but that to a mind disordered by irregular passions, one remedy alone can be administered, a discourse adapted to correct them. And

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is it not strange, while you suffer your bodies to be burnt and mangled, in order to prevent still greater pains, that you should reject a discourse, without knowing whether it may have the power to relieve you?

I speak in this manner, because I would censure plainly whatever I think amiss, and explain my opinion without disguise. And were a stranger from a distance, one uncorrupted by the sophistry of your speakers, to be made acquainted with the real state of your affairs, must he not declare you to be absolutely mad? For while you admire your ancestors, and regard their conduct as highly honourable to yourselves, you discover the utmost solicitude to avoid whatever they pursued, and to pursue whatever they avoided. The grand object of their lives was to defend Greece against the Barbarians. You recal those who lived on the spoils of Asia*, and commanded them to plunder Greece. They acquired pre-eminence by relieving the distressed, and by delivering their country; you, by attempting to enslave it, and by distressing your allies, contend for the same honour; you who are so unworthy of your ancestors, that whereas they abandoned their country in behalf of the general safety, and both by land and sea overcame the Barbarians, you venture not into the field even to maintain your pretensions, but desire to become the tyrants of mankind without daring to be their conquerors.

While you would declare war against all the world, by whom do you propose to carry it on? By the most abandoned and

* The Persians frequently made use of Greek mercenaries in their wars against the nations on their frontiers, or against revolted provinces. But when domestic dissensions broke out in Greece, each state recalled its troops from foreign service, to fight the battles of their country.

desperate

desperate of men, the refuse of the jails of Greece, the disgrace of human nature; men who know no attachment but that of gold, and who will desert your service, whenever they find another more profitable. Yet these men you trust, you employ, and were they to violate your wives and children you would not venture to punish them: So that when we shall receive accounts of their outrages and barbarity, I doubt not but you will rejoice in having discovered instruments so fit for your designs. Such is our madness, that though almost reduced to beggary, we have undertaken to maintain armies; we plunder our own allies to pay the common enemies of society: And in all this we differ from our ancestors; I mean not when they were the objects of admiration, but of jealousy to the Greeks. Even then, though their coffers were full of silver, they marched in person against the enemy; but we, with an exhausted treasury, and a city crowded with inhabitants, have adopted the institutions of Persia, and set on foot a mercenary army. Our ancestors, when they equipped their galleys, employed foreigners in rowing them; they trusted arms only with the citizens: but we, reversing this order, make sailors of our citizens, and soldiers of our slaves; and when our fleet shall make a descent on the enemy's country, the masters of Greece will appear with oars in their hands, and those men I have lately described will fight shining in armour.

Were our internal affairs better regulated, there might still be some hopes of recovery. But these, alas! present a prospect more dismal, than any we have yet contemplated. Considering the antiquity of our origin, and the priority of our political establishments, we ought to afford an example to all mankind, of the happy effects of a wise legislation. Yet our government

is as turbulent and seditious, as if we were but newly formed into society, and though we value ourselves on our nobility, we deal it out with less reserve, than even the Triballi and Leucani* adopt members into their families.

Our laws are numerous, but without force, as one example may convince you. That man who is found guilty of giving bribes, the law punishes with death, but we reward him with the command of our armies; and the more culpable he is in this respect, the higher are the offices bestowed on him.

We pretend that our free constitution of government is as dear to us as our lives: But, though we have seen that peace is its only security, and that war has twice overturned it, we accuse the advocates for peace of oligarchical principles, and we regard the advisers of the war as friends to democracy. No people have heard more political reasonings, or enjoyed a greater variety of political experience than ourselves; yet no people have less firmness and decision: Never, during a whole day, are we of the same mind. We come into the assembly with a resolution to oppose certain measures; we support these measures in the assembly; and reflecting on what is done, we again return to the first resolution. The philosophical Athenians, they who think themselves distinguished above all the Greeks for their wisdom, are led by the most contemptible of men. They commit the chief administration to those whom no one would entrust with the management of a private contract; and confer the guardianship of their constitution on men the most profligate and abandoned. Yet, when we send forth a colony, we are careful in choosing a proper person to con-

* The Triballi were a barbarous people in the neighbourhood of Macedonia; and the Leucani an ignoble tribe in Italy.

duct it; because we know that all the rest will follow his example, and that it is chiefly on his merit the fortune of the colony must depend. But we should be ashamed to imitate our rulers, and would regard it as an affront to be compared with them.

Our ancestors devolved on the same persons the care of their military expeditions, and of their political arrangements. That man whose proposals were the most reasonable, and whose schemes were approved of appeared to be the properest instrument for carrying them into execution. But we hear as counsellors, those whom we dare not venture to employ as generals, because they are altogether devoid of experience: Not that our generals are chosen with greater care; they are such indeed as have never exposed themselves by giving advice in the public assembly, being convinced that no one would listen to them; and they seem sent forth to learn on a larger scale, amidst the political interests of all Greece, those principles of wisdom which they could never unravel while private men, or confined to the narrow politics of Athens. I do not comprehend all under this description; I know there are exceptions: nor do I pretend fully to enumerate your mistakes; the time itself would fail me.

It will be demanded, however, by such as are most conscious of their guilt, how it happens that, notwithstanding all this behaviour, we should not only be safe, but enjoy a power superior to that of any other state? I answer, our enemies were as foolish as we ourselves: For had the Thebans, after their victory over Sparta, and while we continued to behave with our usual madness, delivered Peloponnesus from slavery, rendered the other states of Greece independent, and established a general

ral and solid peace, there would then be no longer room for such questions, and we should now, by a sad experience, be convinced, that moderation is more profitable than ambition. But as affairs are conducted, the Thebans save us, and we save the Thebans; the mistakes of the one prove the security of the other; and we seem entered into a new and uncommon alliance, not for mutual defence, or for attacking a foreign enemy, but each of us for distressing ourselves. Were we possessed of the smallest penetration, we should bribe one another to call public assemblies; for the oftener that the one of us assembles to deliberate, the greater are the advantages which result to the other. But it requires small reflection to perceive, that a power founded on the weakness of our enemies, or a wisdom depending on their folly, are not to be relied on. *Their* circumstances may change, and *ours*, which are barely relative, must change along with them. But a force absolute and real, a conduct circumspect and prudent, ensure, beyond the possibility of failure, the most solid and permanent advantages.

To these inconsiderate and superficial cavillers, it is not, therefore, difficult to reply. But were I reprimanded by one of you here present, who possessed a more reasonable way of thinking, and who, admitting the truth of what I have hitherto advanced, should observe, that a man really interested in your happiness ought not only to point out the disorders under which you labour, but the proper means to remove them, I should acknowledge myself at a loss for an answer; not for one useful and proper, but for an answer that might flatter you: Yet, since I have hitherto spoken without disguise, I will venture, even on this subject, to deliver my sentiments with freedom.

You have already heard that happiness is not to be found but in the road of virtue, and that in order to obtain it, moderation, piety, and justice, are most indispensably requisite. By what measures we may promote these virtues among our citizens, I proceed to explain, in a manner very different from that of your common speakers; and as offensive, I am afraid, to you, as agreeable to truth.

I am of opinion, then, that it would greatly contribute to this end, if we laid aside our ambitious claim to the sovereignty of the seas. It is this which formerly dissolved the government of our ancestors, the happiest that ever was devised, which now involves us in much confusion and distress, and which, in one word, is the occasion of all the calamities that we have either suffered or inflicted. I am sensible of the difficulty of saying any thing that may be thought reasonable against our desiring a superiority so universally coveted, and which has been the object of such eager contention among the principal states of Greece; but as I have already delivered many unpopular and odious truths, I beg you would still hear me on this one topic, and believe that I would not advance an opinion so paradoxical, unless I were well prepared to defend it. I assert then, that the sovereignty which we claim is unjust; that we never possibly can obtain it; and that were neither of these true, we ought still to reject it as an acquisition most fatal to our interests. That it is unjust, you have yourselves taught me. While the Lacedæmonians possessed it, how many clamours did you raise against them? Was there a state in Greece which you did not solicit, or an alliance which you did not court? Did you not send one embassy after another to the king of Persia, to represent that it was equally disadvantageous

tageous and unjust, that one Grecian state should be mistress of the whole confederacy? Did you not employ every effort, exhaust every resource, fight by sea and land, until you compelled the Lacedæmonians, unwilling as they were, to resign their unlawful superiority, and to consent to the general independence? By your conduct, therefore, during those times, as well as by the plan of government which now prevails in Athens, you have given your decision against every kind of usurped pre-eminence, and, in the face of the whole world, you have proved it to be your opinion, that the weak ought not, as defenceless victims, to be abandoned to the powerful.

That we never possibly can obtain this sovereignty, is no less evident, from one single observation. Can we imagine ourselves, in the present exhausted state of our finances, capable to acquire—what with ten thousand talents[†] in our treasury, we were unable to preserve? particularly while we have the manners, not of such as acquired, but of those who lost it. That we ought not therefore to receive such a present, though voluntarily conferred on us, I think, unavoidably follows.

I should dwell longer on this subject were there not a danger that, from the frequency of my invectives, I appeared to take pleasure in finding fault with you; and did I speak before any but yourselves, there might be some ground for this calumny. But I traduce you not before your enemies, with a view to render you odious or contemptible; I blame you in your own presence, to render you more moderate, more wise, and more happy. Consider then, that though the language of admonition and reproach be sometimes unavoidably the same, yet

[†] Near two millions sterling.

the meaning is always different: and that the man who rails at you through hatred, does not more deserve your resentment, than he, who admonishes you through affection, deserves your gratitude and esteem. Let each therefore be received with those sentiments which his intentions ought to excite; but especially honour the man who describes your misfortunes and your errors, for it is only by learning to reform the one, that you can be enabled to avoid the other. This is my defence for the severity of any thing I have said, or may still say; I now return to my purpose.

I was going to observe, then, that we may be sensible of the fatality attending the sovereignty of the sea, if we examine the character and circumstances of our ancestors, before and after they acquired it. By such an examination we shall be convinced in what calamities it may involve us. The one situation was as far preferable to the other, as Aristides, Themistocles, and Miltiades are superior to Hyperbolus, Cleophon, and the others who now seduce you with their fine speeches. At that time the people were not corrupted by idleness, depressed by real misery, and buoyed up by empty expectations. They opposed and overcame all the enemies who attempted to invade their own country; in fighting against those who aspired to the conquest of all Greece, they acquired the first prizes of valour; and their character was so highly respected, that the greater part of their allies in some measure became their subjects. But this sovereignty speedily altered our circumstances; and instead of that virtue which all contended to extol, infected us with a licentiousness which no one could justify. It depraved the citizens to such a degree, that, instead of conquering our enemies, they durst not venture from our walls to oppose them.

Instead of preserving the submission of some states, the confidence and esteem of all, we became so universally obnoxious, that we must have been inevitably reduced to servitude, had not the Lacedæmonians, our inveterate foes, been more generous and placable than our late and natural allies. Nor can we blame their resentment; they were not the aggressors; they repelled *our* injuries; and they did not seek vengeance, till roused by a thousand provocations, which none, however patient, could endure. For was it possible any longer to bear with the enormities of our magistrates, who having collected from all quarters men the most abandoned, and stained with every vice, placed them on board a fleet on purpose to ravage Greece? who dispossessed the most worthy citizens, to share their spoils with the basest of ruffians? Were I to describe all that they committed, I might be of some service perhaps to you, but I should most assuredly endanger myself; for you are accustomed to punish, not the men who occasion your disasters, but such as venture to find fault with these men. I shall throw a veil therefore over their crimes; you will hear me with more patience if I only speak of their folly.

They seemed to rack their invention in order to discover contrivances for rendering themselves odious. Having ordered the money extorted from our allies to be carried into the Theatre, they next introduced the children^u of those who had perished in the war: thus at the same moment inflaming the re-

^u These were regarded as the children of the state, maintained at the public expence, until the age of manhood, and then presented with a complete suit of armour, as the instruments of that honourable profession to which, on account of the merit and services of their fathers, they seemed destined. The magistrates, guided by a vain ostentation, thought to display the wealth and happiness of the state, by shewing the great number of orphans maintained at the public expence.

sentment of our allies, who saw the remains of their plundered riches, and exciting the indignation of all Greece, who observed the great number of orphans rendered miserable by our ambition. But our magistrates applauded their own conduct, and seemed to think, that, in this spectacle they had given a noble exhibition of the prosperity of their country. In this opinion they were supported by many thoughtless, inconsiderate men, who, incapable of satisfying their eyes with gazing on the treasure, and dazzled with the show, had not judgment to reflect that, as it had been amassed by rapine, so it would be lost with dishonour.

They began so much to despise their native country, and to be so ambitious of foreign conquests, that, when the Lacedæmonians invaded Attica, and the walls of Decelia were not yet demolished, our magistrates behaved like unconcerned spectators, while their country was the prey of this implacable rival, and bent their whole force in equipping a fleet against Sicily, which had not afforded them the smallest cause for complaint. At length the frenzy proceeded to such a height, that, though incapable of defending their own suburbs, they talked of conquering both Italy and Carthage. Of such a peculiar kind too was their madness, that misfortunes, which commonly reduce the most extravagant to reason, could produce no such effect on them; though, during this short period, in which we were intoxicated with the sovereignty of the sea, we suffered misfortunes more heavy and numerous than in all former times. Two hundred ships of war, with all on board, perished in Egypt; an hundred and fifty in Cyprus. In Pontus we lost ten thousand men, Athenians or allies. In Sicily, four times that number, with two hundred and forty vessels; and last of all, two hundred

hundred in the Hellespont. To enumerate the fleets of five, or ten sail that perished; to recount the troops cut off by thousands or two thousands, would be impossible, unless we employed several years in celebrating their funerals, at which our neighbours would assist, not in order to condole with us for our misfortunes, but to rejoice at our affliction. For we were not aware until our sepulchres were filled with the citizens, and our registers, containing the persons to be elected to the highest offices, were filled with names unknown in this country. All the most ancient and most illustrious families, who had escaped the dangers of so many foreign wars, and the fury of so many civil commotions, were, during this short period, utterly extirpated. Hence we may learn the greatness of our misfortunes; we are become a new people. For who deems happy or prosperous those states which contain a promiscuous crowd of inhabitants, and not such only as have preserved, throughout many years and dangers, the families which at first composed them? Nor do we admire those individuals who have acquired absolute power, or attained any station to which their abilities are unequal; but such only, as, being entitled to the highest dignities among men, have remained satisfied with that rank which their fellow-citizens have thought proper to confer on them. Of all ranks, this is the most important, honourable, and secure. During the time of the Persian wars our ancestors maintained it; and the effects were most happy and conspicuous. They did not then live like robbers or banditti, now revelling in abundance, and now pinched by famine or harassed by war. Of the goods of fortune they enjoyed a happy mediocrity, equally removed from the insolence

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of prosperity, and the depression of indigence. Revered for their political virtues, admired for their military talents, they led a life not more honourable than innocent.

But those who came after them adopted other maxims; and acting, not as the leaders, but as the tyrants of the confederacy, confounded two kinds of command which are totally different. It is the duty of a leader to promote, by his vigilance and activity, the safety of those who follow him; while the tyrant, attentive only to his own interest, purchases private ease and pleasure at the expence of public happiness. But whoever imitates his example, will be involved in his fate; for nature is just, and punishes such as violate her laws, by retorting their own wrongs.

This at least has always happened to the Athenians. We placed garrisons in the citadels of our neighbours, and we have seen the enemy in possession of our own. We dragged away children as hostages, from the bosom of their parents; our own children suffered famine and distress, while our city was besieged, and we were unable to relieve them. Having reaped the fruits of other men's possessions, we were driven by violence from our native country. Who then, for such uncertain advantages, would expose themselves to inevitable ills? Surely none who is not as devoid of understanding, as destitute of every sentiment of humanity, and who does not regard the exercise of unlawful power as the principal source of happiness. But experience should teach us a different lesson; to weigh deliberately the consequences of our behaviour, to regard the glory of our country as more precious than our private interest, and to prefer a virtuous mediocrity, to riches with injustice. It

was thus our ancestors acquired personal consideration and regard, and left a country to their descendants not less glorious than happy.

Hence it is most evident, that though no nation can boast of better men than our own, yet this command of the seas which we affect, and term a sovereignty, though it be more properly named a misfortune, is sufficient to bring indiscriminate ruin on all who possess it.

We may adduce a proof still more powerful from what befel the Lacedæmonians. The greatest admirers of their virtue cannot allege, that, though we were unfortunate from the particular circumstances of our free government, with which no kind of sovereignty is compatible, yet the Lacedæmonians, if possessed of the same power, would have rendered it the means of happiness to all Greece. For the malignity of its influence on them, was no less remarkable than on ourselves. Their government had lasted seven hundred years, and seemed to bid defiance to time and dangers ; but no sooner was this sovereignty established, than it shook, and well nigh overturned it. Sloth, injustice, avarice, and licentiousness took possession of individuals. The state became insolent and imperious, and no longer paid respect to the most sacred oaths and engagements. They imitated, and even exceeded our example in harassing the Greeks ; and the flames of animosity which their ambition then kindled, will never be extinguished. They who had long been the models of the most cautious circumspection, became at once the most audacious of men ; and in their undistinguishing rage confounded enemies and benefactors. For though the king of Persia had aided them with a gift of five thousand talents in their war against Athens ; though of all their allies the Chians were the

boldest on the sea, and the Thebans the most powerful by land, yet no sooner had they obtained this sovereignty, and become unrivalled masters of the sea, than they began to form designs against the Thebans, sent Clearches with an army against the king of Persia, and expelling the principal citizens among the Chians from their native country, entered their arsenal, and sailed off with their whole fleet. Not satisfied with these acts of injustice, and with at once ravaging the isles and desolating the continent, they dissolved the democratical governments in Italy and Sicily, established tyrannies every where in their room, and infecting all Peloponnesus with discord, rendered it one scene of sedition and horror. What state did they not injure? Which of their allies did they not insult? Was not the territory of the Eleans dismembered? Did not Corinth become a prey to their ravages? Were not the Mantineans expelled from their city, and obliged to take refuge in their villages? Need I mention how they stormed the city of the Phliasians, wasted the territory of Argos, and in fine continued to act with indiscriminate fury against friends and foes, until they prepared for themselves the overthrow at Leuctra. This overthrow is regarded as the cause of their misfortunes, but with great impropriety: It was not the cause, but the effect of their former arrogance and injustice, which rendering them odious to their allies, occasioned all the calamities attending this fatal defeat. For we should regard as the cause of any signal catastrophe, not those misfortunes which immediately precede it, but the original error or mistake from which these misfortunes flow. It is with great reason, therefore, that we consider their acquiring the sovereignty of the sea as the primary source of all.

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The exact military discipline which the Lacedæmonians had so long maintained, gave them a superiority by land over every rival; this superiority enabled them to become masters of the sea; but the insolence which this pre-eminence occasioned, deprived them even of those advantages by which they had obtained it. They no longer enforced the laws, or imitated the manners of their ancestors; but imagining themselves above all controul, and acting without reflexion or design, they soon brought their affairs into such confusion and disorder, that no measures, which they could embrace afterwards, were sufficient to retrieve them. They were unacquainted with the dangers attending superiority in maritime power; they knew not that it deprives such as are intoxicated with it of the use of their faculties, and resembling the nature of harlots, first excites the desires and passions of men, and afterwards converts them into instruments of destruction. That such are its qualities, is evident from its effects. Does it not level all conditions? Those who were elevated the highest, has it not precipitated into immediate ruin? We may instance what befel ourselves and the Lacedæmonians. What political societies were ever better regulated, or enjoyed greater glory and renown? Yet no sooner were we possessed of this power, than both states became infected with the same distemper, pursued the same pernicious measures, committed the same mistakes, and experienced the same misfortunes. Odious to our allies, placed on the verge of slavery and destruction, we were saved by the Lacedæmonians: They in their turn, after exciting the resentment of all their neighbours, and when the collected storm was ready to overwhelm them, fled to Athens for protection, and there alone obtained it. Who then would
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covet a superiority, the consequences of which are so dismal? Who would not rather avoid and detest what both seduces to uncommon guilt, and subjects to inevitable punishment?

That the secret dangers of this power, however, should have remained so long concealed from you, is not very extraordinary. Men are commonly blinded to the objects of their desire; and their obtaining of what they most ardently wish for, is more frequently advantageous to their enemies than to themselves. This is more especially the case with regard to political affairs. Did not we pursue a conduct by which the Lacedæmonians became lords of Greece? The violent measures of the Lacedæmonians, did they not enable us to re-assume our former station, and to become the arbiters of their very existence as a state? The restless ambition of the partizans of Athens, did it not compel the Greeks to court the alliance of Lacedæmon? And did not the insolence of the Lacedæmonians again oblige them to have recourse to their first protectors? Were not the Athenian people seduced, by the artifices of corrupt speakers, to establish an absolute form of government? And did not the mad tyranny of the thirty, render those very citizens, by whom they had been elevated to power, more desirous of a revolution, than such as had fled to Phyle, in order to escape their despotism? The same errors prevail in the affairs of common life. How many do we find delighting in certain kinds of food or exercise, equally prejudicial to the mind and body, avoiding others which might be advantageous to both, and yet pretending to moderation, while they have no rule but their passions. If mankind, then, be thus liable to deception in matters of so frequent experience, ought we to be surprised that this should happen with regard to the sovereignty of the seas, an object less familiar,

familiar, less within the reach of their capacity, and upon which they have bestowed fewer reasonings and reflexions.

You see with what ardor all men desire pre-eminence. There is no danger which they will not encounter, even in free cities, in order to elevate themselves above their fellow-citizens, and to obtain absolute power. But when they have acquired it, to what evils are they not exposed? Involved in perpetual hostilities with their fellow-citizens, and compelled to treat with severity such as never offended them, they distrust even their ancient companions, submit to the protection of slaves with whom they are unacquainted, dread those to whom they commit their safety not less than such as endanger it, and regard with fear and suspicion the persons connected with them by the most endearing ties of nature. Nor are their fears imaginary or groundless: they know that former tyrants have perished by the hands of their brothers, children, and wives; and that their whole race, amidst family broils and rancour, has sometimes been utterly extinguished: but still they consent to run the same hazards, and to be exposed to the like misfortunes. If men, therefore, of such superior abilities, who enjoyed so brilliant a reputation, and who possessed such eminent talents, as raised them to the highest stations and power; if even these men eagerly pursue objects, which, when attained, must ruin them, ought we to be surprised that the vulgar, weak and ignorant as they are, should fall the victim of similar delusions?

While I talk of the folly of tyrants, you hear me with satisfaction; but you discover very different sentiments when I speak against the sovereignty of the seas. In this, however, your conduct is most unpardonable; for you err against the first principle of wisdom, condemning in others, what you yourselves

selves pursue; and while you allow that tyranny is a misfortune to those possessed of it, you deem the sovereignty of the seas the greatest good, though exactly similar to tyranny, both in the crimes to which it leads, and in the sufferings to which it exposes us. It is with the same spirit you condemn the Thebans for injuring the inhabitants of Bœotia, while you seem to applaud your own conduct in insulting your allies. But it is time to abandon this rash and unfair method of deciding, and to consider by what steps these two states (ours, I mean, and the Lacedæmonian) arrived from small and inconsiderable beginnings, to the highest political stations. Consider also in what manner they were again precipitated from this elevation, and reduced so low as narrowly to escape servitude. Why have the Thessalians fallen into poverty and contempt, who formerly were so rich and powerful? and the Megarians, placed in the most narrow circumstances, without territory, harbours, or any ordinary resource, and obliged, for bare subsistence, to cultivate their rocks, become the most opulent of the Greeks? The former, though possessed of three thousand horsemen, and infantry innumerable, allow foreign guards to be placed in their citadels; the latter, with hardly any military force, enjoy complete liberty and independence. The Thessalians are always involved in war, or distracted by factions; while the Megarians, having for neighbours the Peloponnesians, Thebans, and Athenians, and living in the very center of disorder and tumult, maintain an uninterrupted tranquillity. By attending to these important facts, and investigating the causes of them, you will learn, that while licentiousness and arrogance lead to inevitable destruction, moderation is the only road to success; moderation, which you deem as beneficial in

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private life, and advantageous to particular citizens, as unnecessary in public transactions, and prejudicial to the state. But be persuaded, that vice is always to be avoided, and virtue to be pursued, and that still more by communities than individuals. For the unjust man may anticipate punishment by death; but states guilty of injustice must, on account of their immortality, be subjected to certain vengeance from both gods and men.

Do not abandon these maxims on the advice of men, who to the present gratification of your pride, would sacrifice your future safety. They are pretended patriots, and friends to your democracy, but they are your real enemies, and disturbers of the public peace; and it was by men of their character that our affairs were reduced into that melancholy situation which I lately described. It is amazing then, you should still give more attention to them, than to such as rendered you rich and powerful; especially since, during the administration of the latter, your democracy remained unshaken, and the former, in a short time, twice overturned it. Nor are you ignorant, that it was not by informers, but by those to whom informers are odious, that the citizens expelled by the thirty, or by the other tyrannical cabals, were restored to their native country. You know all this,—and yet you remain blind to the villany of your Demagogues. You perceive how many citizens have been banished from their country in the commotions which these have excited, you observe them prosperous and happy in the midst of public calamity, and yet you feel no indignation at their prosperity; but suffer the state to be upbraided as the plunderer of Greece, that they alone may divide the spoils, and that; while the free people whom they flatter and seduce, live more wretched than slaves, these their parasites, born to no

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patrimony, and brought up to no profession, may through your stupidity enjoy happiness and abundance. Pericles, who governed the public assembly when the state, somewhat indeed corrupted by the sovereignty of the sea, was not yet totally depraved, made it not his sole object to augment his private estate. He left it worse than he had received it from his father. But besides the money appropriated for religious solemnities, he deposited in the citadel eight thousand talents for other branches of the public service. Our modern demagogues maintain so opposite a conduct, that though the public engrosses all their attention, though they have not a single moment to bestow on matters of private concern, yet that part which is neglected and abandoned, has flourished beyond their hopes, and beyond what they would have been ashamed even to petition from the gods, while the public, about which they are so solicitous, is equally impoverished and disgraced, and the city full of outcries for want of the common necessaries of life. Nor are such citizens only to be lamented as, from the narrowness of their circumstances, are in want of bread, but those likewise who, though placed in a more advantageous situation, are oppressed by public contributions, and by being appointed to various offices, which they must either ruin themselves in executing, or be obliged to exchange their estates with such as are willing to undertake them*. By means of these the rich are rendered

* It is not to be imagined that Isocrates here finds fault with the law of Antidosis, by which the citizens appointed to pay the public contributions, might name others richer than themselves, who were obliged either to defray the expence, or to exchange their estates with those who had named them. This law, though in most countries of modern Europe it would be reckoned extremely inconvenient, yet

rendered as miserable as the poor, and all involved in one common calamity. It is amazing then, you do not begin to be provoked against that destructive race of demagogues, who seem desirous of completing your misery by depriving you of daily bread. The attaining of this aim is necessary to the accomplishment of their system. They know that men of property are naturally attached to the public interest, and to such as endeavour to promote it; but that the rabble, who subsist by the profits of assemblies and courts of justice, must act in concert with themselves, and conspire with them in those libels, impeachments and prosecutions, by which they oppress their fellow-citizens. They are ambitious, therefore, to reduce the whole state to that wretchedness and want, which is the only basis of their own grandeur. Nor do they conceal their intention; for instead of endeavouring to better the circumstances of the needy, they strive to reduce the wealthy to indigence.

What are the proper remedies for your present disorders, I have now endeavoured at some length to explain; not indeed according to any regular plan, but as each object happened to present itself. I shall therefore recapitulate the chief articles of my discourse: and first of all, if we would regain those advantages which we have lost, and thoroughly re-establish our affairs, it is necessary, that we allow ourselves to be directed in public matters, by those only to whom we would submit our most important private concerns. We must not deem friends

was in the main conformable with the spirit of a republican government, where the convenience and interest of individuals were absorbed in those of the public, and where all enjoying equal advantages, none ought to be exempted from public burdens. But Isocrates here blames such as engaged their country in a train of public measures, which subjected it to impositions too heavy to be borne.

to our free government, men of turbulent manners, and of a factious character; we must not regard the moderate and peaceable as infected with a love for oligarchy; but we must consider, that men are naturally attached to no one system of political principles, but embrace and defend that which is most conducive to their interest. Secondly, we must treat our allies not as subjects but as equals. It is shameful to say, that they are free, while we commit them to the license of our soldiers. We may obtain their good-will, we never can compel their obedience, for though superior to any one state, we are no match for their united force. Thirdly, we ought to hold nothing so precious, next to the favour of the gods, as the esteem of the Greeks. If we can once obtain their esteem, we shall not only acquire the superiority over their persons, but we shall gain their hearts, their affections, themselves.

If, by observing these rules, we become in our dispositions quiet and pacific, while, at the same time, we accustom our bodies to that activity and labour, which may prepare them for war, we shall render this city not only happy in itself, but the means of happiness to all Greece. There is no one state that will venture to take up arms, either for opposing us, or for disturbing their neighbours. And thus will all regard Athens as a guardian and protector, ever ready to defend the injured, to relieve the oppressed, but to punish with a just severity such as violate the public peace. This, I say, will most probably happen: but in whatever manner they may choose to act, our situation must be equally honourable. If the leading states be disposed to observe justice and to maintain peace, we shall be regarded as the cause of these advantages. If they behave with their usual licentiousness and violence, their neighbours will

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come hither with their grievances, solicit our assistance, and submit to our protection. We shall then have no occasion to court alliances; for who will not be ambitious of obtaining the friendship of that state which is not more powerful than just, and which, though standing in need of no assistance from others, is always ready to afford it them: it is evident, that the acquiring of this general good-will must be attended with many solid advantages. What wealth must flow into a city, regarded as the safeguard of all Greece? What honour will result to Athens, the source of so many advantages? My great age renders me unable to explain myself more fully on this subject. I shall only therefore observe, that it is worthy of Athens, amidst the fury and madness which has so long possessed the states of Greece, to set the first example in returning to a more sober way of thinking; to abandon the character of a scourge and oppressor, to assert the general independence, to defend the public safety, and thus distinguishing herself for virtue, re-assume her ancient maxims, and emulate her former glory. I have one observation to add, which is the aim of my whole discourse, and which ought to be the test of all our public councils and measures. If you would dissipate the clamours raised against you, avert the dangers by which you are threatened, and acquire a pre-eminence both conspicuous and secure, you must avoid and detest every species of power, which might seduce you to arbitrary measures, or inspire you with a tyrannical spirit. Imitate the kings of Lacedæmon. These, though they have it less in their power to be guilty of injustice than even private persons, are yet happier than tyrants: For it is reckoned meritorious to put tyrants to death, but the citizens of Sparta think it honourable to die for their kings; and

and whoever avoids exposing his life for them in the day of battle, is branded with the same infamy, as if he had forsaken his post, or thrown away his shield. This is the superiority to which we ought to aspire. Nor is it difficult to obtain it; for by behaving with justice and moderation, we may acquire that pre-eminence in Greece which these possess in Sparta. This is a topic upon which a great deal might be said, but two circumstances determine me to be silent; the length of my discourse, and the number of my years. I exhort those who are in the bloom of life, and who still retain the full vigour of genius, to exercise themselves in such compositions, as may inspire the leading states of Greece with the love of moderation and virtue, and may divert them from the dangerous purpose of oppressing their inferiors. Let them remember as an inducement to undertake this task, that nothing but the prosperity of Greece, can promote the advancement of philosophy.



D I S C O U R S E

WRITTEN BY

L Y S I A S,

O N

An Indictment against ALCIBIADES for deserting his
Battalion.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two following Discourses relate chiefly to the character of Alcibiades, and are therefore placed together. The son of that extraordinary man, inherited with his father's name, the resentment of his enemies. One of the most unrelenting of these, and who is bold enough to avow a deep-rooted antipathy to his whole race, accuses him in the discourse written by Lysias, of deserting his battalion; and having proved the charge, insists that the penalties of law should be inflicted on him. But lest the Athenians, biassed by the splendid reputation of the elder Alcibiades, should be disposed to favour his son, he recapitulates the various transactions, whether civil or military, in which the former had been concerned; and, instead of allowing him any real merit with his country, affirms, that he had been the author of the greatest calamities which Athens had ever suffered at home or abroad.

The pleading of Isocrates, though it relates to a different trial, is in defence of the same Alcibiades, who is accused in the former discourse. The complaint now alleged against him is, that his father had unjustly deprived a man of the name of Tisias, of the horses which gained the prize at the chariot races in the Olympic games. Tisias demanded restitution from the son, of the price of these horses; and in the course of the pleading, threw out many reproaches against the character of the defendant, as well as of his father. Isocrates re-

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futes the principal accusation, by proving, that Alcibiades the elder had bought the horses in question, from the republic of Argos. He, or rather young Alcibiades, who pronounced his discourse, not only endeavours to wipe off the aspersions thrown on himself; but declaring, that he would be ashamed to appear more concerned about his own danger than about his father's fame, he enters into a complete vindication of the whole life and behaviour of the latter. This discourse therefore may be considered as an exact counterpart to that of Lyfias; and taken together, they tend to illustrate a very important period of the Grecian history.

The peace concluded between Athens and Sparta¹, in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, produced no lasting effects. The former republic, whose councils were as unsteady as the various opinions of those who happened to acquire the favour of a giddy unconstant multitude, was soon ready to take up arms, and to invade the territories of her neighbours. Not satisfied with confining her operations to the former scene of action, she undertook, at the instigation of Alcibiades, that fatal expedition into Sicily², which tended more than any other mistake committed in the course of the war, to give a decisive advantage to her enemies. While hardly able to defend her own frontiers, she prepared a fleet of an hundred gallies, which was reinforced by thirty-four gallies belonging to the isle of Corcyra. The land-forces consisted of five thousand one hundred heavy armed troops, fifteen hundred of whom were Athenian volunteers. These were ordered to repair to Sicily, and under pretence of protecting the Egistines against the ty-

¹ Thucid.

² The 17th year of the Peloponnesian war.

ranny of Syracuse, to reduce the whole island into subjection. This rich conquest was regarded as a necessary prelude to the reduction of Carthage and Lybia; Italy was next to feel the power of her arms, and in her wild dreams of ambition she had grasped the whole habitable earth.

While preparations were going forward for undertaking these splendid, but fruitless projects, an event happened among the Athenians, which excited their utmost attention. The statues of Mercury, of which one was commonly placed before every house at Athens, were all in one night broken or defaced.—The authors of this impiety were unknown; but the suspicion fell on Alcibiades, because, about the same time, information had been given to the state, of his having celebrated the mysteries of Ceres, in the house of a certain Polytion, with such circumstances as tended to throw ridicule on the most important ceremony of the Athenian superstition. Isocrates assures us^a, however, that he justified himself to the satisfaction of those who were appointed to try him;—which is rendered highly probable, when we consider that all the historians acknowledge his being sent out immediately after the examination of this affair, as one of the commanders of the armament destined against Sicily.

But he had scarcely arrived in that island with his colleagues Nicias and Lamachus, when the Salaminian galley, which was always employed on such occasions, was sent from Athens, with orders to bring him home. His enemies had availed themselves of his absence, to renew the old accusation of impiety,

^a In Alcibiade.

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which they affirmed had been passed over too slightly before; they had also insinuated a suspicion of his desire to overturn the established form of government. The rank and fortune of Alcibiades, the splendor of his life and manners, his generosity and eloquence, were sufficient to give weight to these accusations; and the Athenian assembly, after being persuaded by him to engage in the most romantic schemes of conquest that any republic had ever conceived, recalled from the execution of them, the only man, whose singular character and extraordinary resources might lead them to entertain some faint hopes of success; determined, however, not to expose himself to the blind fury of an enraged superstitious multitude, he at first took refuge in Argos; but the resentment of his enemies pursuing him even there, he afterwards fled to Lacedæmon.

While he continued under the protection of the Spartans, he adopted the manners and embraced all the prejudices of that people. Among these was their hatred to Athens, of which he regarded himself no longer as a citizen, but as the most inveterate enemy. By his advice, the Spartans sent powerful assistance to the inhabitants of Sicily, and while the Athenians were wasting their strength, by carrying on the ruinous war there, they seized Decelia, a fortified place in the Attic territory, from which they had it in their power to harass the Athenians summer and winter, instead of being obliged to return home as usual during half the year. Nor was Alcibiades less successful in the measures which he undertook to execute against his country, than in those which he only advised. Having obtained the command of a small fleet, he sailed to Ionia, engaged Tissaphernes the Persian governor, in
the

the interest of the Lacedæmonians, and prepared the Athenian allies for a revolt.

The news of these misfortunes, which were brought to Athens, at the same time that the army of that republic had been totally destroyed in Sicily, after a continued course of bad fortune, which they had struggled with for two years, threw the Athenians into the utmost commotion. As their pride and ambition had formerly been indulged without measure, their humility and dejection were now equally excessive: they were willing to listen to any proposal for retrieving their affairs; they hearkened only to men of age and experience; and by their advice the most expedient measures were for once adopted. All superfluous expence was retrenched; the citizens able to bear arms were engaged to enter into the service; the rich offered large contributions; and a thousand talents which Pericles had reserved in the treasury for the necessities of the state, were employed in fitting out a fleet, which was ordered to sail to Samos, in order to prevent the total defection of their Asiatic allies. The whole hopes of the Athenians centered in this fleet, those who sailed in it being as numerous, and far more powerful, than such as remained at home.

Meanwhile Alcibiades having rendered himself obnoxious to the principal citizens of Sparta by the profligacy of his manners, was obliged to have recourse to the protection of Tisaphernes, governor of the Persian territories, near the Hellespont. He easily persuaded the satrap, that he had already gone far enough in seconding the ambitious views of Sparta; that he paid their seamen too generously; and that it was against the interest of the Persian monarch, to give any of the
Grecian

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Grecian republics too great a superiority over the rest. Having thus disposed Tiffaphernes for listening to a proposal on the part of the Athenians, he sends notice to their generals at Samos, that he was ready to abandon for ever the interests of Lacedæmon, and to fulfil all the duties of a good citizen, provided the democracy, which banished him, were dissolved, and the administration of government committed to the hands of the few. He assured them that, unless this should take place, Athens must be undone. She was already unable, by her own power, to withstand the storm that threatened her, and had no other means to resist it, but by obtaining the assistance of Tiffaphernes, which he was determined to withhold, unless the administration of Athenian affairs were taken from the giddy multitude, and lodged with men of steady principles, whose conduct might be depended on. These advices were received with avidity by Pisander^b, and other leaders, who, emboldened by the misfortunes of their country, had already entered into a conspiracy for dissolving the democracy. The prospect of the assistance of Tiffaphernes, who would lavish his treasures among the troops, engaged many of the soldiers to concur heartily in the same design. Eratosthenes^c, Theramenes, Aristocrates, Callæschrus, and others, entrusted with the command of Athenian vessels, in different parts, repaired to Samos, and strengthened the same party, which thus continually increasing, at length prevailed over the friends of the ancient government^d. But their success was of no advantage to Alcibiades, who had so eminently promoted it. Many of those who acted a principal part in destroying the democracy, were his

^b Thucydides, Book viii. Lyfias in Eratost.

^c Lyfias against Eratosthenes.

^d Twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war.

declared

declared enemies; and had no sooner effected their purpose, than finding his influence with Tisaphernes to be less than they imagined, they disclaimed all further connection with him. Disdaining his assistance, they returned to Athens, abolished the senate and assembly, and appointed ten commissioners to new model the Athenian constitution: These ten named five persons, who were again to name an hundred, each of whom chose three colleagues; and in four hundred persons thus appointed, it was determined, that the whole majesty of the republic should be vested. As the young and enterprising Athenians were employed in the army at Samos, the revolution was the more easily brought about in a city drained of inhabitants; the address of Antiphon^e, one of the most eloquent orators and able statesmen that Athens ever produced, contributed greatly to its success. He, it is said, not only planned the mode of attacking the liberties of his countrymen; but also composed the discourses which Pisander, the principal actor in this affair, delivered to the people; and thus the Athenians, after enjoying freedom for an hundred years, fell a prey to the abilities and artifice of an ambitious faction.

The usurpation of the four hundred, however, was not of long continuance. The ablest persons of the cabal, seduced by the sweets of power, employed themselves in enacting various laws at Athens, and in treating with the Lacedæmonians about a peace, while they allowed the army at Samos, where their authority was but weakly established, to be governed by men unequal to so important a task. Murmurs arose among the

^e See Plutarch's Lives of the Ten Orators. Thucydides, Book viii.

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soldiers;—their complaints against the severity of those who were set over them, became more loud and general,—and such as had ever been averse to the oligarchy, profiting of this situation of affairs, set themselves to re-establish the ancient government. Among these were, Thrasylbulus and Thrasylus, who performed the most eminent services: they engaged the soldiers by an oath, to deprive of their command all those who were attached to the four hundred, and to substitute other leaders in their room. At the same time they persuaded them to recal Alcibiades (who had been neglected, and even persecuted, by the four hundred, who dreaded his return); asserting, that he might still be of great use in obtaining assistance from Tissaphernes, and in enabling them to restore liberty to Athens. Even of this, they affirmed, the army ought not to despair, considering that they were more numerous and better provided in ships, money, and all necessaries for a war, than their countrymen at home, most of whom obeyed the four hundred through fear only, and would be glad to throw off the yoke, and embrace the first prospect of deliverance.

With such sentiments was the whole army animated, when ambassadors arrived from Athens. The fury of the soldiers, who would have put them to death, was restrained by Alcibiades. He dismissed them, however, with injunctions, to tell their fellow-citizens to put an end to the authority of the four hundred of their own accord, and that if they neglected his advice, he would return and compel them by force of arms to obey it.

Before this intelligence was brought to Athens, the four hundred had begun to quarrel among themselves;—one faction opposed all the measures undertaken by the other; and several
leading

leading men among them, such as Theramenes^f and Aristocrates, were already desirous, from their excessive inconstancy of temper, to lay down their authority. The great body of the people, therefore, and even the majority of their magistrates, were disposed for complying with Alcibiades's command.—A few of his inveterate enemies still ventured to oppose them. Of these Pisander, Phrynichus, Antiphon, and some others prepared, rather than submit to be deprived of their usurped power, to betray^g their country to the Lacedæmonians. But their treachery not being attended with success, they were either banished or put to death; and the Athenians recovered their liberty, of which they had been deprived during four months^h.

Alcibiades, by the part which he had acted in this revolution, obtained so much favour with his countrymen, that they appointed him, in conjunction with Thrasylbulus, Theramenes, and Thrasyllus, to command their forces by sea and land. While invested with this authority, he performed those signal exploits which Isocrates so highly extols. They are related minutely in Xenophon'sⁱ Greek History, who also gives us a particular account of his triumphant return to the Pireum in the twenty-fourth year of the Peloponnesian war. At this time, however, he still reposed so little confidence in his countrymen, that although he had been victorious by sea and land, and brought home such a quantity of money and spoils, as had never been seen in Athens since the naval victory which put an end to the Persian war, he dreaded to come on shore, and trust himself in the hands of the Athenians, until he saw Eurypto-

^f See Lyfias's Oration against Eratosthenes.
(Thucydides, B. VIII.)

^h Thucydides, *ibid.*

^g See Isocrates in Alcibiades,
ⁱ Book I.

lemus his relation, and many of his particular friends, waiting to receive him: Then he ventured to land, and is said to have justified himself before the Athenian assembly, for having assisted the Lacedæmonians, by nearly the same arguments which are employed in Isocrates's oration.

The extraordinary success which he had lately met with, added great weight to his discourse. His enemies were silent; he was absolved from the curses denounced against him for impiety; and the Athenians, governed by an inconstancy natural to all popular assemblies which act from their own impulse, were as desirous to load him with their favours, as they had formerly been to persecute and punish him.

But their attachment to Alcibiades was not of long continuance. In the twenty-fifth year of the Peloponnesian war, his lieutenant, Antiochus, being defeated in a sea-engagement, this misfortune was ascribed to the commander in chief. He was insulted by the army of Samos, who, intoxicated with their late success, thought themselves entitled always to conquer; and the Athenians sent out Conon to order him to lay down his command. Alcibiades obeyed, passed over into Thrace, built a castle for his own security, and, notwithstanding what Lyfias asserts, of his having afterwards betrayed the fleet to Lyfander, seems never more to have had any considerable influence in the good or bad fortune of Athens.

D I S C O U R S E

WRITTEN BY

L Y S I A S,

O N

An Indictment against ALCIBIADES, for deserting his
Battalion. .

I AM persuaded, Athenians ! that you can expect no apology from me for undertaking this impeachment of Alcibiades, for such has been the invariable tenor of his behaviour towards the state, that even had he avoided giving private cause of offence to any individual among you, he would still deserve to be regarded, on account of his political character, as the public enemy of his country, and of every citizen who loves it. His crimes have not been inconsiderable,—they admit of no extenuation,—they leave no room to hope for his future amendment : They are such, that even his enemies, as men, must blush and be ashamed of them.

For my own part, Athenians ! I will acknowledge that I seek vengeance on him, not for your sakes only, but for my own. His hatred towards me is deep-rooted ; it descends to him by inheritance from his father, and of late he has put in execution all the malicious purposes of his heart.

196 DISCOURSE AGAINST ALCIBIADES,

In many particulars, I have been anticipated by Anchestratides, who first moved this accusation. He has read and explained the laws, and adduced evidence the most unquestionable: but whatever he may have omitted, it shall be my business to supply. ⁱ *Read therefore the law.—The law.*—This is the first time since the peace, that you have sat in judgment, Athenians! upon such a trial; and you ought on this account to regard yourselves not merely as judges but as legislators, convinced that according to your present decision, and according as you either enforce or invalidate the law now read, the consequences must be important to the future happiness of this state. It is at all times the part of a just judge and of a good citizen to take the laws in that sense, which is most for the interest of his country; but this duty is more especially useful at the time when they are first plead. Those who would defend Alcibiades have asserted that he could not be guilty of leaving his rank or of cowardice, because there was really no engagement; and the law, they pretend, runs, “that if any one leave his rank through cowardice, *while his companions are engaged with the enemy*, that in that case only he shall be subjected to a trial.” This observation, however, is exceedingly ill founded, for the law comprehends not only those who leave their ranks, but such as being summoned, have not appeared among the foot soldiers.—*The law*—You hear then, Athenians! that the law does not more apply to those who fly from their ranks, than to those who are not present among the infantry. But who should be present? not those of the military age? not those whom the general have summoned? To me indeed, Alcibiades appears to be equally guilty under both heads of the law. He is chargeable with deserting his rank, because being

ⁱ This is said to the clerk.

summoned

FOR DESERTING HIS BATTALION. 197

summoned to appear among the foot soldiers, he did not there make his appearance, but abandoned that post which was assigned him; and he is manifestly convicted of cowardice, because being ordered to expose himself on the same footing with his fellow-citizens, he alone mounted on horseback, and trusted to the mettle of his steed. This, however, is his defence.—He denies to have injured the state, because he was prepared to fight for it on horseback. But this apology, itself contrary to law, deserves only your indignation; for the law enacts, That whoever ranks with the cavalry, without obtaining the necessary permission, shall be deemed infamous. This, however, he has attempted; and this he alleges as his excuse. *Read also this law—The law.* So abandoned then is his character, that rather than serve as a foot soldier, with his fellow-citizens, he has shewn his contempt for you, and his fear of your enemies; and equally despising the laws of this republic, and the sanctions which confirm them, he has subjected himself to perpetual infamy, to the confiscation of goods, and to every punishment which you may think proper to inflict. Yet the other citizens, who had never before served on foot, but always among the cavalry, and who being well acquainted with their duty, had signalized their valour in the execution of it, obeyed you and the laws; they expected not indemnity by the destruction of the republic; they hoped for its greatness, its glory, and its success. But Alcibiades, having never served on horseback, and even incapable of doing it with honour to himself, or advantage to his country, must, though unappointed and disqualified, rank himself with the cavalry,—thus trampling on your laws, because he hoped the misfortunes of the state would not permit you to enforce them.

198 DISCOURSE AGAINST ALCIBIADES,

Consider, Athenians ! that if you permit such unbounded licentiousness, there will no longer be any occasion for enacting laws, assembling the citizens, or appointing generals ; for all these formalities have been established in order to restrain it. And surely it would be unaccountable, that while a soldier who quits the first rank for the second incurs the charge of cowardice, he who quits not his rank but his corps, and flies from the infantry to the horse, should be deemed undeserving of this reproach.

Nor are judges merely appointed for taking punishment on the licentious, but in order, through the terror of their decrees, to keep the rest of the citizens in obedience and submission. If you punish obscure persons only, this advantage cannot be attained : few will even hear of your decrees, and none will regard them : but if you chastise the most conspicuous offenders, our citizens will be awed by the example ; the allies too will hear of it ; and our enemies, informed of your severity, will tremble at that state which thinks nothing so criminal as military disorder.

It is not to be omitted, that of the soldiers in that army a great many were sick, and others in the utmost poverty. The first would, doubtless, have chosen to return home, in order to get advice ; the second to provide for their subsistence. Yet none of them abandoned their ranks, or preferred the motives of present convenience before the dread of your laws, and the imputation of cowardice. Be mindful of this in your decree, and make it evident to the whole world that you still have no feeling for those citizens who, disgracing the name of Athenian, fly from the enemies of their country.

I am

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I am persuaded that both the law and the fact have been stated in such a manner, that on neither of these grounds will my adversaries oppose me. But you they will supplicate and intreat not to condemn for cowardice the son of Alcibiades, as if Alcibiades deserved any favour from you whose interest he so shamefully abandoned : for if *he* had been cut off at the age of his son, and on the first display of his evil genius, the state would have avoided a thousand calamities. It would be most extraordinary, Athenians ! that the son of that father whom you condemned to death, should be saved for his father's merit ; the son having fled from your enemies, the father having fought in their defence. Such was once your opinion of Alcibiades, that his son, yet a child and innocent, was delivered by you to the criminal judge, merely for his father's guilt ; and now when his own crimes are notorious, will you pity him for his father ? It would be fortunate indeed for such men to be saved on account of their birth, while we, who by their licentiousness and disorder are reduced to the state of supplicants, meet with no mercy from our enemies. Will they spare us because descended from ancestors the most illustrious and deserving, and by whom all Greece has been far more benefited, than ever those men benefited their country ? Yet it might be a merit in them to take compassion on their friends, but it is inconsistent with your honour not to take vengeance on your enemies. If his relations, Athenians ! should intercede in his behalf, let them not be able to prevail with you, for they did not intercede with him in behalf of the laws of this country, or interceding, did not persuade him. And if the generals, in order to make an ostentatious display of their own influence, should think proper to use it in his favour, you will suggest to them,

them, that, were all like Alcibiades, there would be no occasion for generals, because there would be none to obey them.—Demand of them, whether it be their duty to accuse and punish deserters, or to assist them in their defence, and which conduct is most likely to ensure obedience to their orders. The defendants, therefore, must prove either that he served on foot, or that he did not rank himself with the cavalry, till he had obtained the necessary permission. In both cases, they may justly plead for his acquittal. But if having nothing of this kind to pretend, they entreat you to relent and be merciful, remember they give you a counsel to violate the oath which you have sworn, and to trample on the laws of your country. Yet wonderful would it be, should you incline to spare Alcibiades through the merit of his protectors, rather than destroy him for his own wickedness. Being informed of this, you will perceive that it is not a virtuous citizen you punish for a single offence, but that his whole life and behaviour deserve the utmost weight of your resentment. And it is but reasonable, Athenians, that while the accused urge in their defence, their father's virtues and their own, the accuser may make mention of their vices, and prove that both the defendant and his ancestors deserve your detestation.

This deserter, while under the years of puberty, and living with the blinkard Archibiades, that robber of his country, was seen in broad day revelling with a courtesan, giving this early testimony of his character, and thinking he should never be famous, when old, unless in youth he was most profligate. He afterwards entered into a conspiracy with Theotimus, against his own father, and betrayed to him the fort of Oreos. Theotimus protected him for some time on account of his beauty,
but

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but whether dreading his treachery, or thinking to extort money from his father by way of ransom, he at length put him in irons. His father, however, so much detested him, that he declared he would not ransom his bones; and it was not till a considerable time after his death, that he was restored to liberty by his lover Archibiades. Not long after, he ruined his fortune, involved himself in debt with gamblers, and rashly attempting to escape in a vessel from Acta, drowned all his companions. But it would be tedious to relate all that he has committed against the citizens in general, and even against his kindest friends. Hipponicus was obliged, on his account, to part from his wife, and to declare before many witnesses, that he had entered his house as her brother, but had lived in it as her husband. And the man, convicted of these crimes, and having perpetrated every thing wicked and abominable, shews not, even at present, that he repents of his past life, or intends to reform it. Yet, above all the citizens, it became him to be most modest and regular, that the merit of the son might have atoned for the guilt of the father—that father who advised the Lacedæmonians to fortify Decelia, who alienated the isles, who was the source and contriver of our disgrace, and who fought as successfully, in conjunction with the enemies of this state, against his native country, as he was unhappy in defending it. For these injuries, Athenians! your vengeance should be wrecked on his whole race.

It is urged, that it would be highly unjust to punish him for the banishment of a father, whom, upon his return, you honoured with presents; but it would surely be much more unjust to acquit him for the merit of that father,

D d

whom

whom you afterwards deprived of those presents, which you had rashly and undeservedly bestowed on him.

And were there no other reason for condemning him, the following is sufficient. He compares your virtues, Athenians! to his father's guilt; and by them he attempts to excuse it. Alcibiades, says he, did nothing so extraordinary in bearing arms against his country; — for even you yourselves, when in a state of exile, took possession of Phylè, destroyed the wood, beat down the walls, and instead of heaping disgrace on your posterity, have, by these exploits, acquired glory and renown. Thus he compares your conduct, Athenians! in returning to expel your enemies, with that of his father, who returned by their assistance: And it is known to all Greece, that they entered the city to tyrannize over you, and to procure the empire of the sea to the Lacedæmonians; whereas you, actuated by opposite motives, expelled the Lacedæmonians, and restored liberty to them. There is no similarity then between your actions and those of his father.

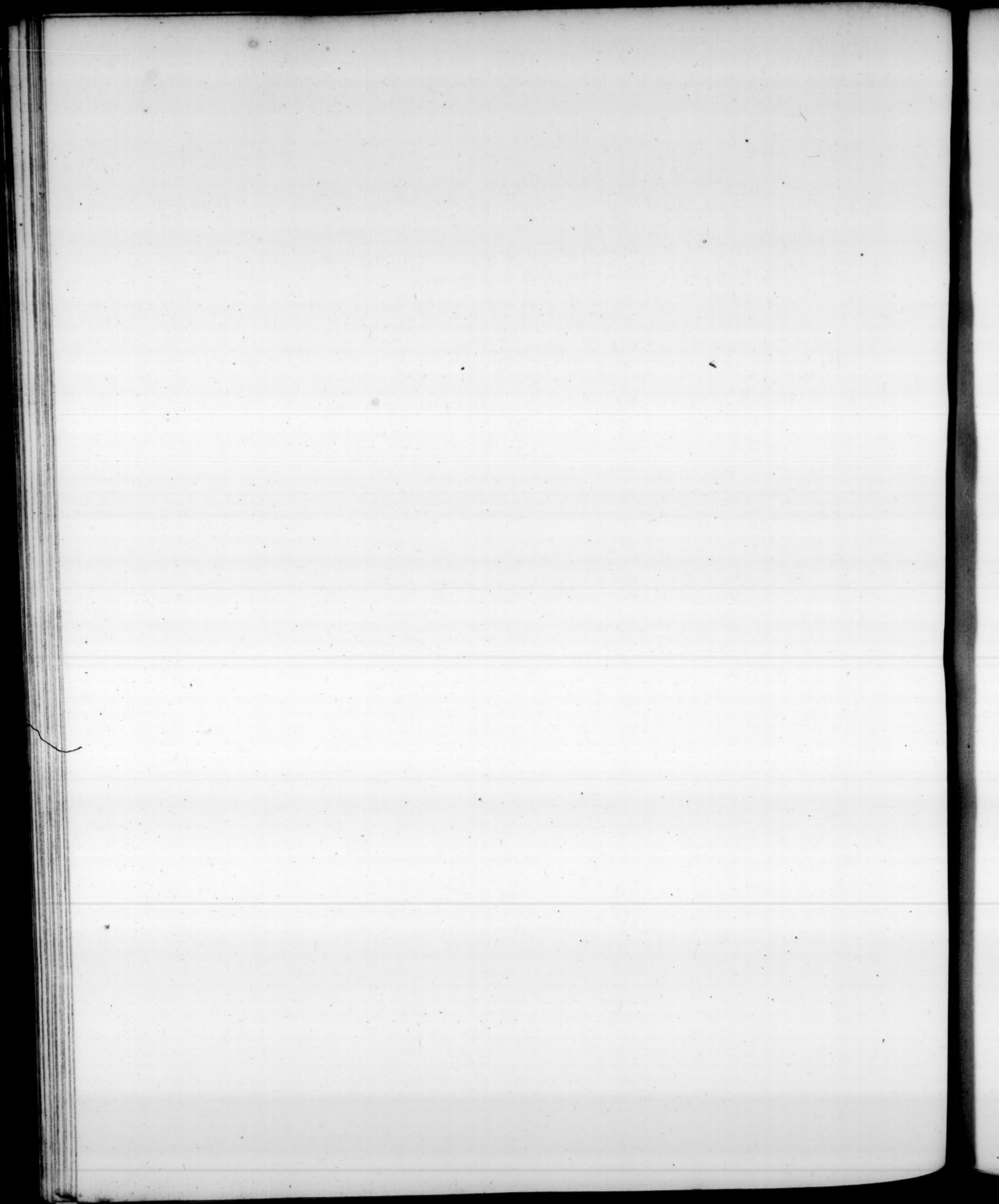
Still, however, he insists; and when his father's merit can no longer protect him, he triumphs in his crimes; for being the most guilty of the citizens, he must also, says he, have been the most powerful; nor without the most distinguished abilities could he have done more injuries to the state than all the rest of the citizens. What abilities did it require, but determined villany, to give information to the enemy where to make a descent, what posts were unoccupied, what were worst defended, where our affairs were most desperate, and which of our allies were ripest for a revolt? All this indeed he performed,

hurting us still more by secret treachery than open violence. But returning and getting command of the fleet, What did he perform against the enemy? He was not able to drive them from our coast, he could not even reduce the Chians to their duty, whom he had caused to revolt; and in fine, while fighting for his country, he performed nothing worthy of applause. It is not, therefore, in abilities, but in villany that he excelled: He could discover your secrets and your weakness to the Lacedæmonians, but these Lacedæmonians he was unable to overcome; and promising to obtain money from the king of Persia, he robbed your treasury of two hundred talents. Nor did he dare to disavow his crimes: Though an accomplished orator, abounding in wealth, surrounded with friends, he ventured not to stand his trial before this people, but condemning himself by a voluntary banishment, chose to be an inhabitant of Thrace, rather than a citizen of Athens.

But the last effort of his malice far exceeded all that I have hitherto described. By the assistance of Adimantus, he betrayed your fleet to Lyfander. If you feel any compassion, therefore, for such as perished in the sea-engagement; if you are ashamed at the disgrace of those who were carried into slavery; if you are seized with indignation at the demolition of your walls, with hatred against the Lacedæmonians, with rage against the thirty tyrants; all these you must ascribe to Alcibiades, the father, whose ancestors have been banished by yours, and whom the most aged of this assembly deliberately condemned to death. Take vengeance, then, on your hereditary enemy, and let neither pity, nor pardon, nor favour, prevail over the laws which you have established, and the oaths which you have repeatedly confirmed. Why should you spare such offenders? What pretence can excuse them?

Their public character is obnoxious, and have their private manners been blameless? Have they not lived with prostitutes, cohabited with their own sisters, begot children of their daughters, treated our mysteries with contempt, maimed the statues of Mercury, been impious towards all the Gods, injurious to all the citizens, and behaved with a licentiousness so rash and undistinguishing, as even to involve themselves in the common calamity? From what deed, the most audacious, have they abstained? What have they not perpetrated, inflicted, or suffered? Such was their disposition to hate the very appearance of virtue, and to triumph in their crimes. But will you pardon them, though thus unjust, in hopes of their future reformation, and of the benefit that may thence result to the state? What benefit can *he* confer, convicted, by the present trial, a coward, and proved a villain by the whole course of his life? Nor allow fear, Athenians! to awe you into forgiveness. Banned from his country, you have no occasion to dread him; a coward, a beggar, at variance with his kinsmen, detested by all the world! Render him an example then to the state, and to his own profligate companions, licentious and dissolute as himself, who, having ruined their private fortunes by debauchery, now harangue you on public affairs. Thus have I spoken on the indictment to the best of my abilities; and while many of you may wonder how I could collect such an aggregate of guilt, he himself will laugh, because I have not related the thousand part of his crimes. Reflecting then, not only on what is said, but on what is still omitted, you will assuredly condemn him; considering that he is guilty of the charge, and that it is for the advantage of the state to be disburdened of such citizens. Read the laws, the oaths, and the indictment, and, remembering justice, pass your decree.

THE
ORATION.
OF
ISOCRATES,
IN
DEFENCE OF ALCIBIADES.



THE
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
IN
DEFENCE OF ALCIBIADES.

THAT my father took not the horses from Tifias by violence, but purchased them from the republic of the Argives, you have now learned, both by the testimony of the ambassadors of that state, and of others who witnessed the transaction. It is thus that these informers persecute and harass me, first calling me into court under pretence of some private wrong, and afterwards loading me with calumny, as an enemy to the public. They even spend more time in traducing the character of my father, than in examining the merits of the cause; and, in contempt of law and justice, they insist that I should be subjected to punishment for the injuries which they impute to him. Though such matters have no relation to the present subject, yet as Tifias has insulted me on account of my father's exile, I think it my duty to answer this reproach; for I should be ashamed to appear less concerned for the fame of my father, than for my own danger.

To

To such as are advanced in years, few words will suffice. They can easily recollect that Alcibiades was banished by the same men who afterwards subverted the democracy. But for the sake of those who are too young to have any personal knowledge of such transactions, and who have often heard them misrepresented in this assembly, it is necessary that I should fully explain them. The cabal of the four hundred, the first invaders of our rights, having discovered their views to my father, he condemned and opposed them. As they observed his attachment to the interest of the people, and his ability to promote it, they despaired of producing any revolution while he remained in Athens, and accordingly took measures to remove him. They knew that there were two circumstances which chiefly excited your indignation—committing impiety with regard to the mysteries of Ceres, and proposing an alteration in your free system of government. These they laid to the charge of my father, accusing him before the senate of having conspired with a faction against the present constitution, and of having celebrated the mysteries of Ceres in the house of Polytion, in company with his impious partizans. But though the people were inflamed by the atrocity of these accusations, he justified himself in a manner so satisfactory, that they were disposed to punish his accusers, and appointed him to sail, as general, into Sicily. Thither accordingly he repaired, imagining himself fully cleared from every imputation. But no sooner was he gone, than his enemies again brought on the affair before the senate, after gaining the orators, and
bribing

bribing false witnesses to accuse him. It is unnecessary to describe the whole progress of their iniquity; it ended in recalling my father from his employment, and in the murder or banishment of his friends. When he received intelligence of what had happened, of the success of his enemies, and of the misfortunes of those who had been attached to him, he was struck with the injustice of being condemned, in his absence, for the same crimes of which he had before been honourably acquitted. But even this could not excite his resentment against the state, or make him court the protection of its enemies; on the contrary, he preserved his affection for his country even during this severe persecution; and, disdaining vengeance, retired quietly to Argos.

The malignity of his enemies, however, still continued to operate. They persuaded you to banish him out of all Greece, to erect a monument denouncing his disgrace, and to send ambassadors to Argos, requiring his expulsion from that country. Then, indeed, abandoned as he was, every where proscribed, and seeing no other means of safety, he took refuge with the Lacedæmonians. This is his only crime, and such are the circumstances which produced it.

As to the other accusations against him, that he fortified Decelia, seduced our allies from their duty, and instructed our enemies in the art of war, while his talents are declared to have been most contemptible, they are as inconsistent with one another, as with common sense. For how, without very uncommon abilities, could he have brought about such important events? Supposing him ever so well skilled in the art of war, would the Spartans have received his lessons on a science, in which they were capable to instruct all mankind? Did the

time admit of it, I could prove that he had no share in many transactions which are falsely ascribed to him, and that in those in which he actually was concerned, he consulted the interest of his country. But it would be hard, indeed, if I should now be subjected to punishment for the banishment of my father, when the state thought proper that he himself should afterwards receive a compensation on that account. You, of all men, ought to have the greatest compassion for his afflictions; for, when banished by the thirty tyrants, you had to struggle with the same calamities. On that occasion, you united in sentiment with my father. Were you not disposed to submit to every inconvenience, and to expose yourselves to every danger, rather than continue in exile? What outrages did you not commit, in order to return to the city, and to inflict punishment on those who had expelled you? To what state did you not sue for assistance? From what injury did you abstain? After seizing the Piræus, did you not destroy the corn in the fields, desolate the territory, set fire to the suburbs, and, at last, lay siege to Athens? All these measures you thought so justifiable, that you expressed more indignation against the partners of your banishment who did not concur in them, than against the original authors of your misfortunes. You ought not, therefore, to find fault with my father's conduct, which is authorized by your own example, nor regard those men as criminal, who, during banishment, desired to return to their country; but those who, while they remained in the country, maintained a behaviour deserving of banishment. Whether is it reasonable to judge of my father's character as a citizen, by what he did when cut off from the city, or by his conduct before that period? Consider that, with two hundred

IN DEFENCE OF ALCIBIADES. 211

hundred soldiers, he made the most considerable states of Peloponnesus revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and become your allies; that he reduced your enemies to the utmost extremity, and carried on the war of Sicily with uncommon success. Recollect his services after his return from exile, and the situation of affairs at that period. The democracy was dissolved, the citizens inflamed with sedition, and the army unwilling to obey the orders of those who were in power. The opposite factions had behaved with so much violence, that both were in despair: The one regarded their fellow-citizens, who remained in Athens, as enemies more implacable than the Lacedæmonians; the other sent for the soldiers in Decelia, because they rather chose to be under the power of the enemy, than to allow their countrymen to have any share in the government. This was the disposition of the citizens with regard to one another. Their enemies, again, had been victorious by sea and land; their wants were gratified or prevented by the king of Persia; while we had no means to supply an exhausted treasury; and there were ninety ships daily expected from Phœnicia, which had been sent to assist the Lacedæmonians. Amidst these dangers and misfortunes, my father was recalled. He did not affect an importance which the occasion, in some measure, might have justified; he did not shew any resentment for the injuries which he had received, nor adopt measures that might have secured him in future against a similar treatment; on the contrary, he at once discovered his resolution rather to share in the misfortunes of his country, than in the successes of Lacedæmon; for it had never been his ambition to conquer

the city, but only to return into it. He had no sooner engaged in your interest, than he dissuaded Tissaphernes from paying the supplies to the Lacedæmonians, and effected a reconciliation with our allies. He likewise paid the troops from his private fortune, re-established the government of the people, reconciled the citizens to one another, and removed all danger on the side of Phœnicia. It would require no small time to enumerate the gallies which he took, the battles which he gained, the cities which he carried by storm, or compelled to surrender. It is remarkable, that of all the military expeditions in which the state, during that time, was engaged, none proved unfortunate under the conduct of my father. These facts, however, are too recent to be insisted on: I pass over others which are no less publicly known.

But some men traduce his private life and manners with an insolence of reproach, which, were he alive, they would not dare to express. They are arrived at such a pitch of absurdity as to imagine, that the more they calumniate him, the greater favour they will gain with you, and with the rest of the Greeks; as if all men did not know, that it is in the power of the most worthless not only to rail against the most respectable characters, but to point their satire against Heaven itself. It may not, perhaps, be worth while to take notice of their reproaches; but I am prompted to support the reputation of my father. I shall trace the matter from its source, that you may be sensible of the consideration in which our family has been held, from the earliest periods of the republic.

Alcibiades,

Alcibiades, then, was descended, by the father's side, of the race of the Eupatridæ, whose very name announces the dignity of their extraction^k. By the mother's side he was descended of the Alcæonidæ. This family was distinguished by its opulence, and its attachment to the popular form of government. Alcæon was the first Athenian citizen who conquered in the chariot races at the Olympic games. His family, though related to that of Pisistratus, and though before the time of his usurpation many of them lived in particular intimacy with the tyrant, disdained to have any share in his government, and chose rather to banish themselves from their native country, than behold the slavery of their fellow-citizens. On this account they became so odious to the usurper, that upon the prevalence of his faction, their houses were levelled with the ground, and even the tombs of their dead sacrilegiously uncovered : But during the forty years that the usurpation continued, they were always regarded as the leaders of the people. At length Alcibiades and Clisthenes, the one in the male, the other in the female line, great-grandfather to my father, conducted the people to the city, expelled the tyrants, and established that democracy under which we alone defended all Greece against the Barbarians. They rendered the citizens so distinguished for justice, that we voluntarily received from the Greeks the empire of the sea; and they so nobly adorned the city with every thing subservient either to ornament or utility, that those who called it, by way of eminence, the capital of Greece, did not seem to exaggerate. Such, then, was the he-

^k Eupatridæ, compounded of two Greek words, signifies the descendants of a good father.

editary friendship with the people transmitted to my father from his ancestors ; an inheritance venerable for its antiquity, and founded on the most important services.

He himself was left an orphan ; his father was killed in Chæronea, fighting against the enemies of his country. Pericles, however, undertook the care of his education ; Pericles, whom all considered as the most equitable, moderate, and prudent of the citizens. It is not surely a small happiness to have sprung from such ancestors, and to have been educated by such a guardian : but my father disdained to owe his glory to the merit of his connexions ; and determined to rival, not to borrow, their renown. First of all, when Phormio led forth one thousand chosen men against the Thracians, he distinguished himself so much above his companions, that he was crowned by universal consent, and received a complete suit of armour from the general. What praises does not *he* deserve, who in his youth was conspicuous amidst the bravest of his countrymen, and who, when advanced in years, proved superior, in every engagement, to the most skilful generals in Greece ?

Soon after, he married my mother, who was given to him as the reward of his merit ; for her father Hipponicus, inferior to none in extraction, was in opulence the first of the Greeks, and in character the most respectable. An alliance so honourable and so advantageous, was coveted by all, and expected by the most illustrious ; but Hipponicus preferred my father to all the suitors, and chose him for his son-in-law and his friend.

At that time, the Olympic games were the chief theatre of glory. There the candidates for fame displayed their wealth, their activity, and their accomplishments. The

conquerors not only rendered themselves famous, but reflected splendour on the state to which they belonged. Alcibiades, observing this, considered that the management of public affairs at home, advanced the character of the private citizen in the opinion of his country; but that the glory acquired at Olympus, raised the reputation of the republic in the opinion of all Greece. Upon this reflection, though inferior to none in bodily strength and address, he despised the Gymnastic exercises, as belonging to men of mean extraction and narrow fortune, or to the members of inconsiderable states; and applying himself to the management of horses, which none but the most affluent could undertake, he excelled all his competitors. He had more chariots than the greatest states. His horses so far excelled all that entered the lists, that they came in the first, the second, and the third. His sacrifices, and other expences in the festival, were more magnificent than those of whole nations; and he ended the entertainment by eclipsing the glory of all former conquerors, and by leaving nothing greater for posterity to perform. His largesses to the people, upon being elected into public offices, and his magnificence in conducting the shows within the city, it is unnecessary to mention. All others have thought it sufficient honour to be ranked, in these respects, as second to Alcibiades; and the praises bestowed on such as are distinguished for them in our days, reflect a double lustre on him.

As to what regards the commonwealth (for this is by no means to be omitted, since he never neglected it), he behaved with such public spirit, that while others excited seditions from views of profit or ambition, he exposed his life for the safety of his country. It was not in being rejected by the oligarchy, but
in

in being called to share in it, that he shewed his attachment to the people: He might have shared in the government of the few; he might even have enjoyed more authority than any individual of their number; but he chose to suffer injuries from his fellow-citizens, rather than to betray them. Of this it would have been impossible to have convinced you before the late revolutions in our government; but the commotions, which we have now experienced, discover the true character of the citizens, and enable us to distinguish the partizans of oligarchy from the friends of the constitution, and the peaceable subjects of both, from those who are indifferent as to all forms of government, provided they have a share in the administration. In the course of these seditions he was twice expelled by your enemies. In the first instance, his banishment opened the way to your servitude; and in the second, it was the immediate consequence of your misfortunes. So intimately were your fortunes connected, so much did you share in his advantages, and so sensibly did he feel your adversity.

There were some who thought unfavourably of his public character, not judging by his actions, but because they supposed that supreme power was naturally coveted by all men, and that he was most capable to obtain it. This, however, is his greatest praise, that, while he possessed the means of enslaving his fellow-citizens, he chose to live on an equality with them. The variety of instances in which he demonstrated his principles, makes me at a loss which of them to select; those omitted, always appear more considerable than such as I relate. One thing is evident, that those are naturally most attached to any government who are the greatest gainers by its continuance, and who have the most to lose by its subversion.

version. But who was happier than he during the democracy? Who was more admired and respected? Upon the dissolution of that form of government, who was deprived of greater hopes, of a more ample fortune, or of higher reputation and glory? Under the last usurpation, the thirty contented themselves with banishing other citizens from Athens, but him they proscribed from all Greece. Did not Lyfander and the Lacedæmonians consider the death of my father, and the dissolution of your democracy, as things so inseparably connected, that they laboured equally for both? It was to no purpose, they knew, to make you agree to the demolition of your walls, while they left alive the man who could rebuild them.

The misfortunes, therefore, to which he was exposed, no less than the victories which he obtained, shew his good-will to the people. He desired the same government with you, he had the same friends, the same enemies, and he shared alike in your good and bad fortune. He was ever involved in dangers, sometimes with you, sometimes by you, but always in your behalf. In every respect, surely, he behaved differently from Charicles, who desired to be subject to the enemy, and to tyrannise over his fellow-citizens; and who, though he remained inactive during his banishment, had no sooner returned than he became a misfortune to his country. And you! the friend and kinsman of such a traitor, you! who sat in a senate with tyrants, are now become audacious enough to traduce the citizens! Have you no remembrance of the agreement*, by virtue of which you are at present an inhabitant of Athens? Are you not sensible, that, were the public to exact an account of what is past, you would now be exposed to

* The Amnesty proposed by Thrasybulus.

greater dangers than I am? But the state, faithful to its oaths, will not only refuse to punish me for the pretended injuries of my father, but will pardon you for the crimes of which you are actually guilty. You have not the same defence with him; it was not in banishment, but while in office; it was not by necessity but from choice; it was not to avenge injuries, but by being yourself the author of them, that you brought ruin on your country. Were this to be remembered, what defence could you plead, what excuse could you make?

But, Athenians! on some future occasion, perhaps, when he himself is in danger, I shall speak at more length of the injuries he has committed. I now entreat you, not to abandon me to my enemies, nor to involve me in calamities too hard to be borne. Already have I had my full measure of distress. In my early infancy I was left an orphan, by the death of my mother, and the banishment of my father. Before I had attained four years of age, I was in danger of being cruelly murdered. When a boy, I was expelled from the city under the thirty tyrants. After the citizens, who seized the Piræus, were recalled, the rest were indemnified for the loss of their property; I alone, on account of the power and virulence of my enemies, received no redress. Having suffered so many misfortunes, and been twice deprived of all my possessions, I am now defendant in an action for five talents. This cause, though merely pecuniary, may drive me from my country. The same accusations have not similar effects against persons in different circumstances. The rich lose their fortunes, but those who are poor as I am, lose their honour and reputation; a loss greater than banishment

ment itself, as it is more disagreeable to be despised by our fellow-citizens, than to be obliged to live among strangers. I now, therefore, crave your assistance; I entreat, that you would not suffer me to be insulted by my enemies, to be despised by my country, and to become remarkable above all men for my misfortunes. There is no occasion for many words; facts speak for themselves. It should be sufficient to move your compassion, to see me involved in an unjust accusation, endangered in whatever is most precious to me, suffering what is unworthy both of myself and of my forefathers, deprived of the most splendid fortune, and obnoxious to all the vicissitudes of life. Though these considerations be extremely grievous, yet there are others still more afflicting; That I should be punished at the instance of a man, from whom I am intitled to demand justice; that I should be dishonoured on account of my father's victory at ~~Olympus~~, which to every other son would have been the source of triumph and glory; that Tifias, who had no merit with the state, should have a powerful influence both in the oligarchy and democracy, while I, who injured neither, should be persecuted by both; and that you, who agree in no other respect with the thirty, should unite with them against me, and regard the partner of your misfortune as the object of your resentment.

Olympia

IN DEFENSE OF M. C. GILBERT

THE STATE OF TEXAS, County of [illegible], ss. I, [illegible], Clerk of the Court, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the records of the Court.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Court at [illegible] this [illegible] day of [illegible] 19[illegible].

Attest: [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE
ORATIONS
OF
LYSIA S
AGAINST
AGORATUS and ERATOSTHENES.

THE

ORATORY

OF

IN THE

AGENCY

AGENCY AND BUREAU

INTRODUCTION.

read **I** HAVE placed the two following Orations together, because the first shews in what manner the government of the thirty tyrants was established, and the second, in what manner it was administered. Lysias describes more minutely than any author extant, the private intrigues which occasioned this remarkable revolution; but he only hints at those external causes, which, concurring with them, ensured their success. In order to have a complete view of the subject, however, it is necessary to be well acquainted with both. We must therefore look back, and give some account of the events which happened in the last years of the Peloponnesian war.

Alcibiades being dismissed from his command in the manner which has been already related^m, those who succeeded him had the good fortune, in the 26th year of the war, to obtain an important victory over the enemy's fleet, commanded by Callitadas, the Lacedæmonian. The battle was fought at Arginusæ; the Athenians took or destroyed seventy-five of the Peloponnesian ships, and lost nineteen of their own. According to an ancient and sacred custom, which prevailed among the Greeks, the admirals gave particular orders to preserve the bodies of the slain, that they might be honoured with the rites of burial; but a storm arising, these orders proved ineffectual.

^m See Introduction to the Discourses for and against Alcibiades.

Nothing was reckoned a more heinous impiety among the Greeks, than the omission of such duties as belong to the dead. The least irregularity in this respect was deemed so atrocious a crime, that Thucydides represents it as one of the greatest calamities attending the plague at Athens^a. When the news of the victory at Arginusæ, therefore, reached home, the Athenians were more enraged against their admirals, for leaving their fellow-citizens unburied, than pleased with their success in the engagement. It was to no purpose they affirmed, that though they had done every thing in their power, they found it impossible ^o to draw up the dead bodies from the bottom of a tempestuous sea. Theramenes, one of their own number, anxious to save himself, or actuated, perhaps, by motives more criminal ^p, undertook formally to accuse them. They were brought, to the number of ten, before the assembly; Pericles, son of the celebrated statesman of that name, and Thrasyllus, an officer of great merit, with four others, were condemned to death. Before they were carried to execution, Diomedon, a person equally eminent for valour and probity, desired to be heard. "I am afraid (said he), Athenians! the sentence which you have passed upon us, will be followed with great misfortunes to this republic. I have but one favour to ask, that you perform the vows which we offered to the Gods. We have no leisure to discharge them ourselves; but are sensible, that, to the protection of the Gods, we are indebted for the victory over your enemies?"

^a Thucydides, Book II.^o Lyfias against Eratosth.^p Lyfias, *ibid.*

What

What Diomedon seemed prophetically to foretel, the Athenians fatally experienced. By the disgrace of Alcibiades, and the death of the other commanders, their republic was deprived of men fit to contend with Lyfander, whom the enemy sent out against them. This man, equally skilled in the arts of peace and war, having obtained the command of the Peloponnesian forces, sails to the Hellespont, lays siege to Lampfacus, carries the place by storm, and, according to the barbarous practice of the age, abandons it to the fury of his soldiers. The commanders of the Athenian fleet, having intelligence of his arrival and success, steered towards Olestus, and halted at the mouth of the river Ægos, over against the enemy. There the Hellespont is scarcely two thousand paces ~~wide~~^{long}. But the Athenians flushed with their late success, which had been chiefly owing to the merit of those commanders whom they had since put to death, were eager to meet Lyfander, and to give him battle. During four days, he bore, with the greatest patience, the insults of the Athenian fleet, which every day sailed up in order of battle, to bid him defiance. He took care, however, to send out a few small gallies to watch their motions; nor did he allow his sailors to go on shore, or his soldiers to quit their ranks, until certain advice was brought him that the enemy had retired. This extreme circumspection seemed to argue timidity on the part of Lyfander; which, joined to a sense of their superior force, inspired the Athenians with the most unbounded confidence. They abandoned all care; they talked with contempt of an enemy who could submit to the indignity of being threatened without showing resentment; and giving way to all the petulance of folly, debated^a in what manner they should treat

^a Plutarch in Lyfander.

the Lacedæmonian prisoners, when they fell into their hands.

On the fifth day, they again presented themselves before the enemy, and retired with more insulting airs than before. When the ships had returned to their station, most of the seamen went on shore, straggled about the country, indulged in indolence, or revelled in disorder. The gallees sent out by Lyfander to observe the motions of the enemy, brought intelligence of their situation; and as none could be more favourable to his designs, he ordered the signal to be given for the fleet to set forward, and commanded the land army to occupy the top of a high promontory in the neighbourhood, and watch the event of the battle. In vain did Conon endeavour to rally the Athenians; as he only shared a divided authority with colleagues, as incapable to command others, as unwilling to obey him. He saved, however, his own squadron, consisting of nine gallees, with which he sailed to Cyprus. But the rest of the fleet fell an easy prey to Lyfander, who, seconding his good fortune, disembarked with his forces, pursued the enemy, took three thousand prisoners, plundered their camp, and fastening their gallees to the sterns of his own, returned to Lampsacus amidst triumphant shouts and acclamations.

When the Salaminian vessel conveyed intelligence of this disaster to Athens, the cries and lamentations of the citizens were heard proceeding along the walls that run from the Piræus to the city. The three thousand prisoners taken by Lyfander had been barbarously put to death; and the Athenians, deprived of every prospect of assistance, had little reason

to doubt that they themselves would be treated with equal severity. The utmost dejection seized them, when they reflected on their past cruelty, and called to mind, how they had butchered the Melians, Hestians, Scionians, the inhabitants of Torona, of Ægina, and other cities, which they had taken by storm in the course of the war*. Meanwhile, their allies revolt; their garrisons in most of the tributary cities return home; Lyfander lays waste Salamis, and shuts up the Piræus with an hundred and fifty sail.

Athens, though she received an addition of strength from the citizens who arrived from abroad, and who encouraged her to withstand the enemy, was yet so harassed by famine, that it was evident she must soon be obliged to surrender. But even prior to this necessity, and as soon as the citizens had recovered from the confusion into which the destruction of their fleet in the river Ægos[†] had thrown them, they had divided into factions; and those who disliked the democratical form of government, had begun to cabal against the liberties of their country. That their republic should be enslaved by the Lacedæmonians seemed to them a matter of small moment, provided they themselves could obtain the friendship of that people, and thereby acquire a superiority over their fellow citizens. In order to effect these purposes, they determined to cut off all those who were peculiarly attached to the democracy, and most able to support it. Instead of having recourse to open violence, they thought it more prudent to impeach them before the senate, then totally alienated from the republican party. Dark insinuations, therefore, were thrown out

* Xenophon, Book II.

† Lysias against Agoratus.

concerning certain persons, who, it was asserted, had ill designs against the state. The senate ordered them into confinement on suspicion. Several of their own creatures were also seized, that, under pretence of being obliged to discover their accomplices, they might name any citizen who was obnoxious to the cabal. When by these contrivances all the bravest and most public spirited citizens had been either imprisoned, or in order to avoid this misfortune, compelled to fly from their country, Theramenes offered to go ambassador to Sparta, in order to negotiate a peace. Thither he was sent with full powers; and, after remaining four months, until the Athenians, who were now closely blocked up by sea and land, had consumed their provisions, he brought home such hard conditions, as nothing but the present distressful situation of his countrymen could have engaged them to accept. They were commanded to demolish the *long walls*, and the fortifications of their harbour, which it had been the glory of Themistocles to raise; to deliver up all their ships but twelve, and to follow the fortune of Lacedæmon^w.

But humiliating as these conditions were, there was an article still more cruel, to which necessity compelled them to submit. They were henceforth to be governed by thirty men, appointed by the conjunct nomination of the Lacedæmonians and the cabal. When these assumed the government, they at first affected to administer it according to the ancient forms of the constitution. A senate^{*} and other magistrates were established. Impeachments, as had been usual, were carried on; and

^w The 27th, and last year of the Peloponnesian war.

^{*} Lyfias in Eratosth. and Xenophon, Hellen.

many violent incendiaries were justly condemned to death. By degrees, however, they began to discover their real intentions, and to prove, that uncontrouled power, in whatever hands it may be lodged, must always be abused. Having obtained a body of troops from Lacedæmon, they plundered their fellow-citizens in order to pay their mercenaries. Whoever was supposed to be rich, was accused as criminal. Strangers and citizens were involved in one common ruin.

Such proceedings alarmed Theramenes, who, though the principal author of the usurpation, was already disposed, by a singular inconstancy of temper, to destroy the work of his own hands. He told his associates, that the citizens, provoked by their indignities, would be compelled to revolt: That their government stood on too narrow a foundation, and could not exist long, unless more were interested in its support. By his advice, therefore, three thousand persons were allowed to enjoy the singular privilege of not being put to death, until they were first tried before the senate: But all the rest of the citizens were disarmed, and the severities exercised against them, rendered still more intolerable than before.

Critias, the chief promoter of these violent measures, was opposed by Theramenes, who was shocked at seeing the continual scenes of horror and bloodshed, which his own measures had occasioned. His furious colleague told him, that frequent executions were things of course, and ought not to surprise him: That a change of government must in every country be attended with bloodshed; and particularly, when a free city like Athens, which at all times had cherished liberty

as the principal gift of heaven, was reduced under the government of a few. This difference of opinion between them degenerated into a personal animosity, to which Theramenes fell a sacrifice, and by that dignity of sentiment which he discovered at his death^y, atoned for the mistakes and misconduct of his life. His character is one of the most doubtful described in history. Though his actions were commonly detrimental to his country, he, perhaps, often meant to promote the public good. He thought, it is probable, that the Athenians were neither fit to live under a democracy, nor able to defend it. Yet were it not for the noble courage which he discovered at his death, his opposition to Critias might be solely ascribed to that irresolution or timidity which disposed him to submit to the Lacedæmonians.

The Thirty delivered from a partner in power, whose character laid some restraint on their actions, now indulged an unlimited licentiousness. Those citizens who, in order to avoid danger, had retired to their country-seats, where the Athenians of rank commonly spent more time than in the city^z, were ordered to return; they abandoned their lands, which were divided among the cabal, and retired to Piræus. Being pursued thither, they fled to different countries, which (particularly Megara and Thebes) were soon crowded with Athenian exiles.

I shall not attempt to relate the various events which happened in the civil war carried on between these exiles and the tyrants. "Lyfias delights in describing the glorious manner^a, in which the Athenians, under the conduct of Thrasybulus, recovered

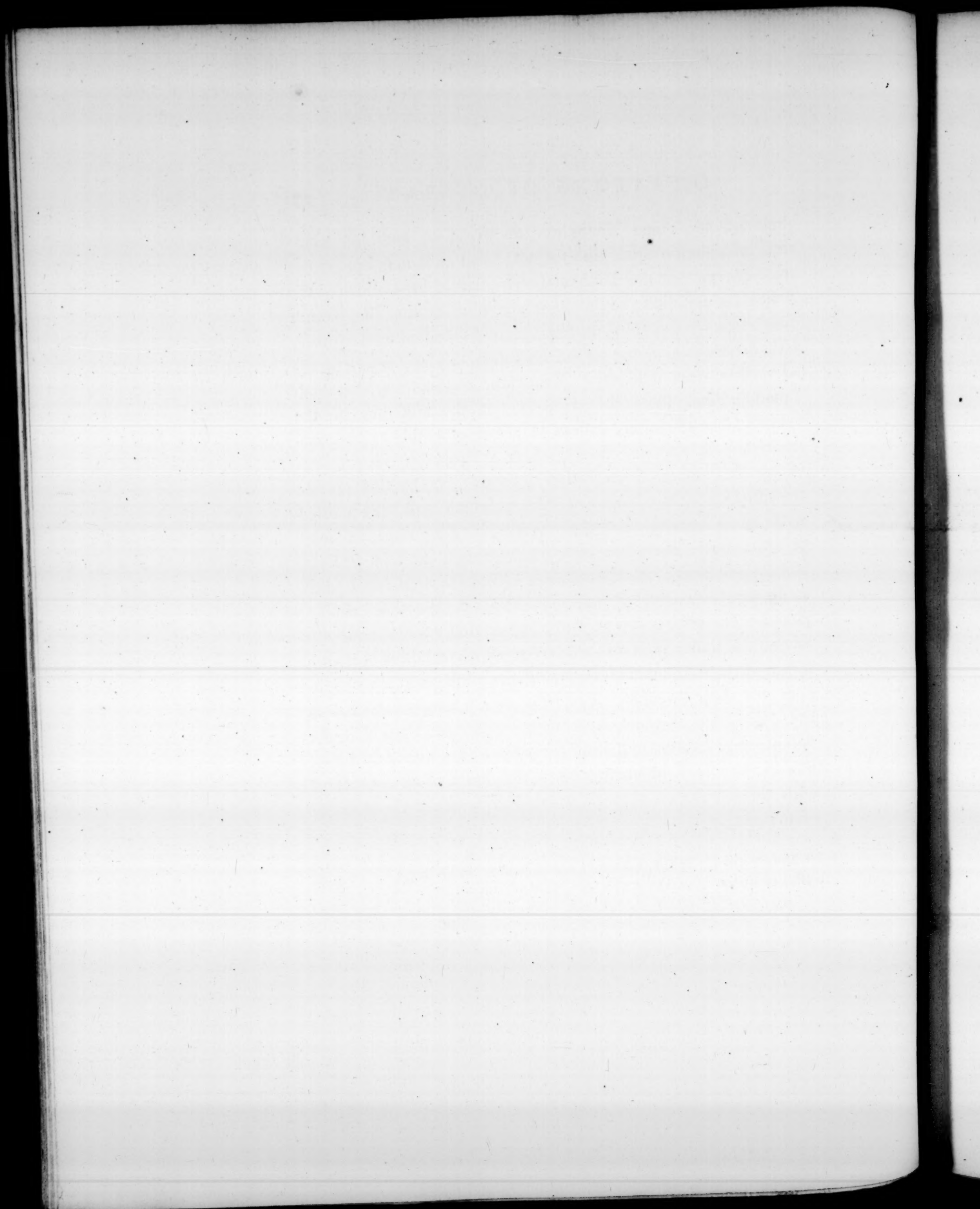
^y Xenophon's Hellen.

^z See Thucydides, Book III.

^a See Funeral Oration, et passim.

their freedom; and Xenophon has given us complete historical information upon this subject. But as it may appear extraordinary, that the Lacedæmonians should have allowed the Athenian republic to be thoroughly re-established at the distance only of two years from the time of its subversion by Lyfander, I shall here take notice of an oration of Lysias, which tends to remove this difficulty. Xenophon informs us, that both Lyfander and Pausanias were sent to the assistance of the tyrants; but the latter, instead of acting agreeably to his commission, took part with their enemies. Pausanias was prompted to this conduct, as Lysias informs us, by his private friendship for the family of Nicias, which had been treated with great cruelty by the tyrants. Diognotus, a man of an amiable character, and who, though he had suffered banishment under the democracy, refused to conspire against it, brought the sons of Niceratus and Eucrates to Pausanias, placed them on his knees, and begged, that remembering the friendship and rights of hospitality which subsisted between him and them, he would defend their cause and take vengeance on their enemies. Pausanias was strongly affected at the description of their misfortunes, and concluding that the tyrants were resolved to destroy every one distinguished for birth, wealth, or virtue, disclaimed from that moment all connection with them, rejected their presents, and favoured the interests of the people^a.

^a Lysias's Oration against confiscating the estate which had belonged to Eucrates, brother of Nicias.



A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S

On an Indictment against AGORATUS.

IT is your duty, Athenians! to resent the injuries of those who suffered in defence of the republic; it is mine to resent the death of Dionysodorus, my kinsman and friend. Embarked in a similar cause, we contend against a common enemy: He deserves equal hatred from us both; but while his crime excites my unavailing resentment, I trust in the Gods it will draw forth your just vengeance.

Never did the behaviour of any man more loudly demand it. At the unhappy period which preceded the government of the thirty tyrants, this Agoratus cut off, by one false accusation, both my kinsman Dionysodorus, and many other citizens of distinguished merit, whose death ought to be regarded, not merely as a private misfortune, but as a public calamity. The society deprived of such members, and the individuals robbed of such relations, are bound by every law, human and divine, to inflict punishment on the offender; and if we firmly unite in this measure, both Gods and men will applaud us. But, that you may take

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no step, of which you shall ever afterwards have cause to repent, and that you may condemn Agoratus with a heart-felt genuine approbation, I shall relate in what manner the republican form of government was subverted, and by what contrivances he destroyed those who were most desirous to preserve it. You will then perceive what reason these patriots had to expect that their sufferings would not be considered with indifference by you, but that you would repay their important services, by taking vengeance on their murderer.

I shall begin this relation from an æra which both you and I will ever have too much reason to remember. When our fleet had been unfortunate abroad, our internal vigour exhausted, and the Lacedæmonians had ventured to sail even into our harbours^c, the immediate danger threatening our affairs occasioned many conferences about entering into terms of accommodation. At this conjuncture, those who were disaffected towards the present government, availing themselves of your perplexity and distress, began to cabal against the public interest; but as they were awed by your statesmen and generals, they thought it necessary to remove or to destroy them, in order to carry on their designs. Their attack upon Cleophon^d was an open declaration of the measures they intended to pursue; for when, in the first assembly which was held to deliberate

^c See the Introduction.

^d Cleophon had, on many former occasions, distinguished himself as a popular leader. His advice to the people, indeed, did not always proceed from the purest motives; nor was it commonly attended with the best effects. He had an active hand in persuading the Athenians to condemn the commanders who had overcome the Peloponnesian fleet at Arginusæ, because they had not been able to draw up the dead bodies

deliberate on the peace, the agents of Lacedæmon required, as an indispensable condition, that your *long walls* should be demolished for ten stadia on each side; when you, Athenians! could not hear with patience of the demolition of your walls; Cleophon, speaking for you all, declared it impossible that this condition should ever be complied with: Upon which Theramenes, one of the cabal, rising up, promised, that if you sent him ambassador to Lacedæmon, it would not be necessary either to demolish your walls, or to submit to any such humiliating proposal; for he had lately discovered an expedient, by which your present affairs might be settled to your entire satisfaction, and even something else of great importance obtained for the state. Deluded by these flattering promises, you appointed him ambassador, with full powers; though only last year, when he stood candidate for being commander of the army, you voted against him, as a man ill affected towards the Democracy*. After he arrived at Lacedæmon, he made light of his own engagements, and betrayed your confidence. No attempt was made to bring about a reconciliation; but you were left a prey to the ravages of the enemy, that being dejected by misfortunes, ruined by the ca-

of their countrymen from the bottom of a tempestuous sea; and in general he was inclined to violent measures. Lyfias, therefore, who was himself enthusiastically fond of the popular governments, speaks more honourably of this man than his character perhaps deserves. (Xenophon Diod.)

* Literally, You rejected him as a man of ill intentions with regard to the people. It seems, from the original, that Theramenes had really been appointed general "*by the holding up of hands*," but that when his life and character came to be examined, according to the institution called Probation, his behaviour was judged such as rendered him unworthy of the honour conferred on him.

lamities of war, and destitute even of the first necessities of life, you might at length be willing to conclude a peace on any terms.

Thus, Athenians! were you betrayed by your ambassador abroad, while his accomplices, who remained in the city, impeached Cleophon, under pretence, indeed, that he had delayed to join the army, but in reality, because, supporting the public interest, he had opposed the demolition of your walls. A court was prepared to try him, composed of the partizans of oligarchy, by whose sentence he was condemned to suffer death.

Theramenes soon after returned from Lacedæmon. When he appeared in public, many soldiers, among whom were Strombichides and Dionysodorus, men who, as they proved by their subsequent behaviour, were the friends of liberty and of the constitution, upbraided him with the artifice and perfidious duplicity of his conduct; for he concluded such a peace, that our walls were demolished not for twenty stadia, but entirely; and instead of *that something of great importance*, which was to be obtained for the state, we were compelled to deliver our ships to the Lacedæmonians, and to pull down the Piræus. Such terms of peace, those men who addressed him, declared they never would allow to be carried into execution; for they saw the object to which they tended; and they opposed the demolition of the walls, and the delivery of the ships, as so many steps which led to the dissolution of your government. They were not against making peace, but only such a peace as was now offered: they expected to bring about one far more favourable to your interest; and they would actually have accomplished this design, had

had not the perfidy of Agoratus, which terminated in their death, miserably disappointed their expectations. For Theramenes and his cabal, finding that their measures would meet with opposition, and that some Athenians were still ready to make a stand for liberty, determined, before holding an assembly for ratifying the treaty, to remove all obstacles in the way of your destruction. With this view they persuaded Agoratus to act the part of informer against those who had most openly declared their indignation against the peace. He was privy to none of their designs; neither is it likely he should have been so. Those of the army who had behaved with such spirit towards Theramenes, were not so destitute of friends, as to associate with a man of Agoratus's condition; who was himself a slave, and of a servile extraction. He appeared, however, a proper instrument for serving the purposes of the cabal. That you might the more easily fall into the snare which was laid for you, matters were so contrived, that Agoratus might seem to give his testimony by compulsion; though, from the manner in which the whole business was transacted, it is abundantly evident that he did it from inclination. But in order, I say, to deceive you, they sent to the senate, which immediately preceded the government of the Thirty, one Theocritus, a man of doubtful birth, commonly called the son of Elophestictus. This senate^f was altogether alienated from the interests of the people, and so strongly infected with oligarchical principles, that many of its members were again
elected

^f The senate at Athens was chosen annually by lot. Solon enacted, that it should consist of four hundred members; that is, an hundred out of each tribe. When the number of tribes was augmented by Clisthenes to ten, fifty senators were appointed from each tribe, which increased their number to five hundred. No citizen could be admitted

electd into office under the government of the Thirty. I mention this, that you may not be led into a mistake, by regarding them as real senators, the guardians of your laws and safety. Before this senate came Theocritus, with a dark accusation against certain persons, whose names he durst not declare; he pretended, however, that they had conspired against the present government: that he likewise had joined in the conspiracy, and was bound to silence by the most awful oaths and imprecations; but that there were others who had come under no engagement, and who could lay open the whole design. Yet had not the senate and he been too well acquainted, would they have proceeded upon so vague an accusation? Would they not have compelled him to declare the names of his associates? *They gave orders, however, for seizing them upon suspicion*; and when they had passed this decree, came to the Piræus in order to carry off Agoratus. Having found him at the market-place, they attempted to drag him thence by force; but Nicias, Nicomedes, and some other good citizens, who happened to be present, sensible that the violence which was now offered to Agoratus,

mitted into the senate, or even allowed to stand candidate for obtaining this honour, unless his character were clear and unimpeached. When we consider these circumstances, and attend to the Orator's observation, that the senate, a body so numerous, and appointed with such care, were alienated from the interest of the people, it seems evident that the factions in Athens had been carried to the utmost pitch, and that nearly one half of the citizens were divided against the other. Both parties alleged very specious arguments in their own favour. The friends of the democracy insisted, that it was better to die with arms in their hands, than to give up not only their liberty, but even their natural independence; the partizans of the oligarchy pretended that no sacrifice could be too great which delivered them from the punishment denounced against them by an enraged and victorious enemy; and that any kind of government, even though proposed by the Lacedæmonians, was preferable to the licentious tyranny of popular assemblies, governed by violent demagogues and incendiaries.

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would end in the destruction of the state, interposed in his behalf, offering to give bail, and to be answerable for his appearance before the senate. Hearing this, the senators desisted from their violence, and, taking down the names of the sureties, returned to the city : But they, on the other hand, retired to the altar of Munychia², to consider what measures ought, on this occasion, to be pursued. Upon reflection, it appeared by all means necessary to remove Agoratus beyond the reach of the senate. For this purpose they brought two vessels into the harbour, and prepared whatever else was necessary for a voyage. They not only intreated him to be gone, but even offered to accompany him, and to remain in a voluntary banishment until the affairs of Athens should assume a more settled form. They represented to him the danger of appearing before the senate, where, by the force of torture, he might be compelled to accuse every one who should be named to him, and thus afford a pretence to the enemies of the popular government, for destroying all who opposed them. Agoratus, however, remained deaf to their solicitations : He was not moved either by their preparing the vessels, or by their offers of accompanying him ; but, resolute in his purpose, determined to submit himself to the disposal of the senate. Answer me, Agoratus ! Had you not enjoyed the confidence of your judges, and been already secure with regard to your own safety, is it possible that you would have now despised an opportunity of securing it, when every thing had been provided for your escape, and when such respectable citizens were ready to accompany you ? Nothing stood in your way ; the senate had not yet become masters of your person ;

² Munychia was a sea-port town, situated on a promontory not far distant from the Piræus.

and you were at full liberty to act as might seem most advantageous to yourself. Your circumstances, besides, were very different from those of the men who offered to attend you. They enjoyed the privilege of Athenians, and could not therefore be put to the torture, even though they had surrendered themselves to the senate; and by departing with you, they banished themselves from their native country, and abandoned every advantage to which, as citizens of Athens, they were intitled. But you, on the contrary, by remaining in Athens, were exposed to suffer torture; and by leaving it, you deprived yourself of no advantage, and forsook nothing that was dear to you. In every view, then, it was more your interest than theirs to attempt making your escape; but there was a secret motive which retained you, and which could not operate on them;—you depended on the same cause for safety, from which they dreaded destruction; and however unwilling you may now be to confess it, you was not then unwilling to put to death the most deserving of our citizens. That you was the tool of the senate, is evident from their decrees, and I can prove it by witnesses; for when the decree had passed to bring you before the senate, when those who were appointed to lay hold of you had come to Munychia, they did not drag you by violence from the altar, as at present you would attempt to persuade us; but of your own accord you rose up, and followed them. After you were brought into court, your conduct was not less obsequious: You discovered the names first of those worthy men who had offered to protect you, next of the officers of the army, and then of many other respectable citizens. I suppose you acknowledge the fact; if you do not, I can convict you by the clearest evidence. Answer me. —You hear, Athenians! he confesses. The senate, however,

ever, determined to avail themselves of his perfidy, to promote their own criminal designs, did not think he had yet gone far enough; they named still more of the citizens, with an intention that he might accuse them. Nor, Agoratus! was you wanting in complaisance to the senate, and no wonder! for, after serving them so effectually of your own accord, you could not be supposed to refuse a continuance of the same services, in compliance with their commands.

A short time after, when the assembly was held in the theatre of Munychia, it was thought expedient that the generals and officers should be accused likewise before the people. As to the other citizens, it was judged sufficient that an information had been lodged against them in the senate. Agoratus, therefore, was brought before the assembly; and I trust he will not deny what passed in the face of all the Athenians. He confesses. But the decree of the assembly itself shall be read to you. *The decree.*

That Agoratus declared the names of the same persons in the assembly, whom he had before accused in the senate, and that he ought to be regarded as their murderer, is no longer doubtful. That he is the author of all your calamities, and does not deserve even the lowest mark of compassion, a few words will be sufficient to prove; for no sooner were your protectors seized and imprisoned, than Lyfander entered into your harbours, your ships were delivered to the Lacedæmonians, the walls of Athens were levelled to the ground, and, to complete the measure of our misfortunes, the tyranny of the Thirty was established over us. One of the first acts of their administration, was the appointment of a day for trying the prisoners before the senate; though a decree had already passed with

regard to them in the assembly, which consisted of more than two thousand persons. *The decree of the assembly.* Had they been again brought before the assembly, it was still in ~~your~~ power to save them; but in the senate, during those unhappy times, your services could be of no avail. The singularity of this trial must render it ever present to your imaginations. The Thirty sat on the benches which are by law appropriated for the Prytanists^h: Two tables were placed before them: the citizens were ordered not to throw the pebbles into the urn, but to lay them openly on the tables; of which one received the votes for acquitting the prisoners, the other, those which condemned them. How was it possible, then, that any one should be saved? And in fact, of all those who, during the usurpation of the Thirty, were tried before the senate, Agoratus alone was not condemned to death: He was protected, however, not as your friend, but as the instrument of your slavery. That you may know the number of those who were condemned, their names shall be read over to you. *Their names.* Having received sentence, and being again conducted to prison, they sent for their relations, that they might have an opportunity of embracing them before they put a period to their lives. One sent for a brother; another for his wife, or his mother; and each for the person most dear to him. Dionysodorus sent for my sister, who was his wife. She being called into prison, appeared in a mourning robeⁱ, as most suitable to the present distress of her husband. Dionysodorus having settled his affairs in her presence, began to talk of Agoratus as the cause of his death. He told her, that he not

^h The Prytanists were those magistrates who, according to the forms of the Athenian constitution, were entitled to preside in the senate.

ⁱ In the original, a black robe.

only trusted in me, and his brother Dionysius, but also in her, for vengeance ; that if she bore a son to him (for she appeared to be with child), he trusted she would not allow him to be ignorant, that Agoratus was the murderer of his father, but inspire him with such sentiments, in his early years, as might prompt him, at the age of maturity, to seek vengeance on the murderer. These facts you will hear attested by witnesses. *The witnesses.* Thus, Athenians ! were these excellent persons accused by Agoratus, and afterwards put to death. Deprived of such guardians, you were exposed not only to the cruellest treatment, but to the most humiliating insults which ever afflicted any nation. It gives me pain to recal your calamities ; and nothing but the necessity of proving that Agoratus, the cause of them, is unworthy of the least compassion from you, could make me insist on so disagreeable a theme. You remember the citizens who were dragged from Salamis, how many, and how brave they were ; and by what sort of death they perished. You are not unacquainted with the similar misfortunes of those of Eleusis ; neither can you ever forget how such as remained in the city were sacrificed to private resentment, cast into prison, and though clear of every imputation, ignominiously put to death. Some were torn from their parents, who expected in old age to be cherished, and after death to be buried, by their children ; others left their sisters unmarried, and without protection ; while many were cut off from their children, who were thus disappointed at once of their education and support. What judgment would all these, if alive, pass upon Agoratus ? What punishment would they inflict on him, who, while he robbed them of their own lives, threw them into the most melancholy

reflections on the fate which awaited their posterity? Our walls were demolished, our arsenals destroyed, our fleet delivered to the enemy. The Lacedæmonians got possession of our citadel, the whole vigour of our state was dissolved, and a city, before distinguished by its ornaments and its strength, was reduced to an equal condition with the meanest and most defenceless. Individuals were, by degrees, deprived of their property, and the whole driven out, at once, to wander in misery and want. To prevent these melancholy consequences, those virtuous men opposed the peace concluded by Theramenes; and to promote this peace, Agoratus, under false pretences, put them to death. Take vengeance, then, on the author of our public calamities, and of those which each suffered in particular.

But I should be glad to hear what he can say in his defence; for there are only two allegations by which he can hope to be exculpated. He must either deny that he accused them, or he must prove that his accusation was just. If he pretends not to have accused them, he can be convicted by the decrees both of the senate and assembly, which expressly declare the contrary. He may be convicted, likewise, by his own trial, under the Thirty; for in the sentence which they passed upon him, he is declared to have been acquitted, because he had discovered the truth. *The decrees and sentence.*

It is impossible, then, to deny that he gave information against them. It remains for him to shew, that his information was well-founded; and I am persuaded he will find this task no less difficult: For who can believe, that if the men
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whom he accused had been traitors to their country, and had been actually practising against your government, the Thirty would have put them to death? Did the Thirty shew themselves disposed to take punishment on your enemies? or was it not more natural to expect this service from the assembly of the people?—Should he pretend that his information was not voluntary, you surely ought not to admit this pitiful defence for a behaviour so criminal and destructive. For, Agoratus! before you were conducted to the senate, while you sat at the altar of Munychia, when ships were provided for your departure, and your sureties were ready to accompany you, it then depended on yourself to escape the scrutiny of the senate, and neither willingly, nor by compulsion, to become the instrument of their crimes. But you preferred the favour of the senate, to the lives of your fellow-citizens; and expected to build your own importance on their misery and despair. You cannot, therefore, expect favour, you who were incapable of compassion. Hippias the Thasian, and Xenophon the Carian, were both called before the senate for the same purpose with you: They died by torture, because they would not accuse their fellow-citizens; while you, by a shameful concurrence in the most criminal designs, fully satisfied the senate, and therefore you alone were acquitted.

He pretends, however, that part of the guilt ought to be laid on Menestratus, whose affair stands thus. Being accused by Agoratus, he was taken and imprisoned; but having a connexion with one Agnodorus of Amphitrophæa, a particular friend of Critias, one of the Thirty, this Agnodorus, unconcerned as he was about the death of the other citizens, sought to save Menestratus; and when the assembly was held at Munychia,

nychia, procured a decree for that purpose. When this decree had passed, Menestratus accused several other citizens; in consequence of which he was himself dismissed by the Thirty, because, like Agoratus, he appeared to speak the truth; but he was afterwards tried for murder, and having received sentence, was whipped to death. Yet Agoratus, surely, is more deserving of death, as he is to be considered not only as the murderer of Menestratus (since he informed against him), but of all those whom Menestratus, through his means, was reduced to the necessity of accusing.

It is worth while, Athenians! to compare his behaviour with that of Aristophanes the Challidian, who became his surety, and offered to accompany him in the vessels which had been prepared for their voyage. Aristophanes strenuously endeavoured to save even you, Agoratus! and to prevent you from being instrumental in the death of any of the Athenians; but in return for this service, you accused your benefactor, who, as he could not clearly prove himself to be a citizen of Athens, was in danger of being put to the torture. It was even attempted to procure a decree against him for this purpose; and though those who were at the head of affairs intreated, that, rather than suffer the last calamities, he would make a discovery of the pretended conspiracy, he remained firm in his resolution, and declared, that no terror could ever compel him to be the author of an unjust accusation. Thus nobly did he behave, both with regard to the prisoners and the state; choosing to die unjustly, rather than save himself dishonourably. His blood is on you, Agoratus! as well as that of Hippias and Xenophon, who died by torture. You were conscious that these men had committed no offence; but you expected, by accusing them, to obtain favour with the senate,

senate, and, by the vile arts of an informer, to acquire a share in the government.

I should be glad, Athenians! to make you acquainted, with the character of those men who fell a sacrifice to his ill-directed ambition. Each of them, in particular, deserves a separate panegyric; but their number, unfortunately too great to admit of this distinction, obliges me to speak of them in general. When they conducted your armies, which were often entrusted to their care, they always rendered your affairs more prosperous, and left an easy employment for those who succeeded them. Entrusted with the first offices at home, or with the command of your ships at sea, they never afforded to you, even in those delicate stations, the smallest ground for blame or accusation. Those of them whom, notwithstanding the snares of Agoratus, and all the efforts of the cabal, fortune and the Gods have preserved, are at present the ornaments of our republic; but they were then obliged to save themselves by flight; they durst not wait the judgement of the senate; nor did they venture to return, until having seized on the castle of Phylè, and having once more re-established your affairs, they might be received into the city as your deliverers. Such were the men whom Agoratus put to death, and such are those whom he compelled to fly, like criminals, from their country. But what is Agoratus himself? A slave, and of a servile extraction. This you should observe, that you may know by how vile an instrument you suffered. His father was Eumenes, who was descended of Nicocles, and he of Anticles. Of this the witnesses will inform you. *The witnesses are examined concerning his extraction.*

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His behaviour has corresponded to his descent; and it would be no easy matter to relate all the base or criminal actions of which the whole life both of himself and of his brothers may be said to consist; how often he has been engaged as accuser in private litigations, or as informer in public trials, and how often, by betraying the names of his accomplices, he has infamously obtained pardon. But there is no necessity for entering into particulars upon this subject; you yourselves, Athenians! both in your public assemblies, and in your private tribunals, having found him guilty of slanderous accusation, subjected him to the fine of ten thousand drachmas. This decision, then, is to be regarded as the united testimony against him of all who bear the name of Athenians. His private manners were equally infamous with his public character. He seduced the wives of Athenian citizens; and was once taken in the act of adultery, of which the punishment is death. That this likewise is true, the witnesses will prove to you. *The witnesses.* They were in all, Athenians! four brothers. Of these, the eldest was discovered by Lamachus, in Sicily, making signs, by means of fire, to your enemies; and suffered the punishment due to such traitorous practices. The second was carried from hence to Corinth as a slave; where, running away with a female slave whom he had stolen, he was thrown into prison, and died in irons. The third was brought before you by Phinippides, on an accusation of theft, and being convicted, was condemned to suffer death. Agoratus will probably admit the truth of what I have asserted; but that is of small importance, since these witnesses can prove it. *The witnesses.* Must you not then of

necessity pass sentence against him? If his brothers were put to death, each upon one simple accusation, shall he escape unpunished, who, both in public and private, with respect to the state in general, and the individuals who compose it, hath occasioned so many misfortunes, and committed so many injuries? He, whose life is one aggregate of infamy and guilt, and who justly deserves death for each particular crime that he has committed? He pretends, however, in order to obtain your protection, that, under the government of the four hundred, he put Phrynichus to death; and that, in return for an action so meritorious, he was invested with the name and rights of a citizen of Athens. An impudent falsehood! He neither killed Phrynichus, nor was he ever enrolled among the citizens. Phrynichus was cut off by the contrivance of Thrasylbulus the Calydonian, and Apollodorus the Megarian. These two united in laying snares for his destruction; and having met him on the road, Thrasylbulus struck him down; but Apollodorus laid not hands on him, for he made an outcry as he fell, and they were obliged to save themselves by flight. Agoratus was neither privy to their designs, nor present at the murder of Phrynichus; Your own decree bears testimony to these assertions. *The decree is read.* He could not then have killed Phrynichus; for it is nowhere said that Agoratus is an Athenian; though certainly had he performed this meritorious action, his name would have been joined in the same tablet with those of Thrasylbulus and Apollodorus; who, giving the usual gratuity to the clerk of the assembly, were numbered among the citizens, as benefactors to the state. This likewise is evident from the decree. But so great was his contempt for you, that, though never admitted to the rank, he

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assumed the functions, of a citizen, appeared as a judge in your tribunals, as a legislator in your assemblies; and taking upon him the designation of an Athenian tribe, to which he had no title, harassed those, who were really citizens, by his unjust persecutions.

There is likewise another circumstance, by which you may be convinced that he neither killed Phrynichus, nor was ever adopted into this state. This Phrynichus was the chief support of the usurpation of the four hundred; of whom the greatest part were, upon his death, obliged to fly their country. Can it be believed, then, that the Thirty, and the senate under them, consisting of the same persons who had before usurped the government under the name of the four hundred, would have forgiven the murderer of Phrynichus, and the author of their own banishment? If he pretends, therefore, to have killed Phrynichus, he must either be guilty of a falsehood in saying so, or he must have committed something still more atrocious with regard to the state, by which, after so great an injury to the Thirty, he not only avoided their resentment, but even acquired their friendship. If he should still insist upon his killing Phrynichus, forget not what he must afterwards have committed, but punish him according to his deserts; and if he gives up this defence, demand why he was present in your courts of justice, in your assemblies, and acted as informer under the title of Athenian?

I understand he is prepared to shelter himself under his merit in going down to Phylè, and returning from thence with the citizens. It is admitted; he was at Phylè: And could any
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thing demonstrate a higher degree of impudence, than intruding himself upon the very men who, by his means, had been banished from their country? But no sooner was he observed in Phylè, than he was seized, and dragged to punishment, like a malefactor. Anytus, who was commander, could hardly save his life: He observed to those who laid hands on him, that they were not as yet in a situation to inflict punishment on their enemies; that their present circumstances demanded patience and moderation; and that they ought to defer taking vengeance, even on those who had given them the greatest offence, until their own misfortunes were repaired, and they had returned into the city. In obedience therefore to the commands of their leader (which none who regarded the general safety could disobey), they abstained from their intended violence against Agoratus. But while he remained in Phylè, no citizen would live under the same roof, no officer would enrol his name in the register of his troops, but he was every where regarded as a man abominable and polluted, whose conversation might prove infectious, and draw down the vengeance of the Gods on all who associated with him. Let the officer present prove what I have alleged. *The witness.* After a reconciliation had taken place between the contending parties, those who had fled to the Pireum marched in form to the city. OEsimus conducted them; and the audacity of Agoratus was, on this occasion, most extraordinary. He attended the procession, bearing his arms, and marching in company with the citizens; but when they had arrived at the gates, and began to lay aside their arms before they entered into the city, OEsimus remarked him in the crowd, and coming up, threw away his shield, and

ordered him to be gone, as it ill became a murderer to attend the procession of Minerva: And in this manner was he dismissed by OEsimus, as can be proved to you by the witnesses. *The witnesses are examined.* Such then was the disgrace with which, both at Phylè and the Pireum, he was treated by the citizens. No one would converse with him; he was abominated by all men; and ~~the~~ the authority of Anytus scarcely prevented his suffering the punishment of a murderer. If then he claims merit on account of his journey to Phylè, ask if any officer registered him in his list; if Anytus did not save his life, while the soldiers were ready to punish him; if OEsimus did not throw away his shield, and drive him with disgrace from the procession?

Nor admit as a defence, that his trial has been long deferred: for in such crimes no prescription can ever be admitted; and he who is accused, whether immediately, or at the longest distance of time, must either deny the charge, or expect to suffer as an offender. Let him prove, therefore, either that he did not accuse these men, or that he accused them justly; otherwise, the delaying a punishment which ought long ago to have been inflicted, is really a favour: he should consider as clear gain all the time that has since elapsed, for his crimes are in no respect diminished by the dilatoriness of our revenge.

I am informed, that he supports his courage, because it is said in the libel, that he openly put the citizens to death. But of all grounds of comfort, this surely is the weakest. It is nothing else than to say, I should be guilty of what is laid to my charge, were not the word *openly* in my libel; but this word being inserted, I am innocent. Or,
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I am guilty of murder; I confess it; but as the murder was not openly committed, I ought to escape punishment. The eleven, who framed the libel, did not, I believe, make use of this word in order to serve the interest of the defendant, but rather to excite Dionysius to prove so just an accusation. Nor is the word improper: For what could be done more openly than that which happened, first, before the five hundred in the senate, and then, before all the Athenians in the assembly of the people? Before both of these courts he accused the citizens whose characters I have described; and before both they were condemned upon his accusation. To knock down with a club, or to stab with a dagger, is not the only method of killing openly. According to that interpretation, no one occasioned their death; for they were neither beat, nor wounded; but, being traduced by an invidious accusation, they were killed by you, Agoratus! who was the sole author of their trial, and the manifest cause of their death.

I am told he has great confidence in the oaths and agreements which took place between the citizens in Athens, and those at the Pireum. This agreement, these oaths, should have defended him, he thinks, from all scrutiny at first, and ought now undoubtedly to protect him against the natural consequences of the present trial. In this he so much confides, that he almost confesses himself a murderer. Thus, Athenians! does he allege, in his defence, your oaths and agreements, the delay of his trial, and the word *openly* inserted in his libel; but in the merits of the cause itself he reposes no confidence. You ought not, however, to be deceived by such chicanery; but compel him to prove, either that he did not accuse
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the citizens, or that they did not suffer death. For those oaths and agreements apply not to him ; they took place between the men at the Pireum, and those in the city. Had he been in the city therefore, while we remained at the Pireum, they might in this case have had some weight ; but he himself was at the Pireum, as well as Dionysius and I, and all those who seek to punish him.

To me, under every view, he appears deserving of many deaths. For, on one hand, he pretends to have been adopted by the people, and even calls them by the name of father ; on the other, he is proved to have insulted, to have abandoned, to have betrayed that very people, in order to promote his own interest, and to gratify his private ambition. The man then who could strike his natural father, and refuse him the necessaries of life, who betrayed his adopted father, and robbed him of all he possessed ; ought not this man, on both accounts, to be subjected to the last of punishments ?

And surely, O Athenians ! if ever there was a common cause, in which we are all equally concerned, it is this before you. For the unhappy men who suffered an unjust death, through the contrivances of Agoratus, depended on the whole in general, and on each individual citizen, for obtaining vengeance on their murderer ; they expected that each of you would punish him according to his power and opportunity. Nor was this expectation groundless : For if they conferred the most signal advantages on your government and city (as you yourselves are ready to allow), they had reason to trust, that, bound by their favours, you would all act the part of friends and kinsmen to them. Hence they had not more confidence
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in their particular connexions, than in the public itself; so that neither with justice nor piety^k can you acquit Agoratus. But, as at the time when they were accused, the unhappy state of your affairs prevented you from being useful to them, do you now, when you have it in your power, take vengeance on their murderer. And reflect, Athenians! before you commit an action, of a nature the most unjust and atrocious; for by acquitting Agoratus, you not only cooperate with a public enemy, but by the same decree condemn to death those, who, by your own confession, were benefactors to the state. There is no pretence or evasion by which you can escape this reproach; you cannot possibly protect their murderer, without declaring it as your opinion, that they were justly put to death. Thus surely their circumstances would be most piteous, if the very men, in whom they trusted for vengeance, should join in one accord with their enemies. But never, O Athenians! in the name of all the Gods, be persuaded, by any art or contrivance, to decree against such as suffered death from Agoratus and the Thirty, for no other reason but their attachment to your country and form of government. Calling to mind all the sufferings of this state, your private misfortunes, and the public calamities, which followed upon their death, and were occasioned by it, no longer suspend the punishment of the original cause of all our miseries: And it has been proved to you, from the decrees, the libels, and every other form of record or evidence, that this cause is Agoratus. It is natural for you, Athenians! to vote in opposition to the Thirty; to acquit those whom they condemned, and to

^k The Greeks, as well as the Romans, regarded the duties between near relations as sacred, and called them by the name of piety.

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condemn those whom they absolved. But they condemned your friends, and they absolved Agoratus ; the first, because they were desirous of saving you ; the second, because he was ready to destroy them. You ought, therefore, to maintain an opposite conduct, and acquit those men by condemning Agoratus. If you follow this advice, you will discover your opposition to the Thirty, avenge the cause of your friends, and prove, before Gods and men, the propriety of your sentiments and proceedings.

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An Indictment against ERATOSTHENES.

IT is an easy matter, O Athenians! to begin this accusation; but to end it without doing injustice to the cause, will be attended with no small difficulty. For the crimes of Eratosthenes are not only too atrocious to describe, but too many to enumerate. No exaggeration can exceed, and within the time assigned for this discourse it is impossible fully to represent them.

This trial, too, is attended with another singularity. In other causes, it is usual to ask the accusers, "What is your resentment against the defendants?" But here you must ask the defendants, "What was your resentment against your country? What malice did you bear your fellow-citizens? Why did you rage with unbridled fury against the state itself?"

I say not this, Athenians! as if I had no private misfortunes to lament, no personal injuries to revenge. But a good citizen feels the calamities of his country as sensibly as his own. Both there is good reason to resent, and with both I am justly affected.

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Nor is it a small source of uneasiness that a man, who never before pled in his own or in any other cause, should be obliged to undertake an accusation upon which so much depends. I have felt uncommon anxiety on this account, especially as not only my own interests, but those of my brother, are at stake; and both are unfortunately committed to my artless inexperience. But I shall make you acquainted, Athenians! with the merits of this cause in the shortest and simplest manner.

My father Cephalus was engaged to settle in this country, by the persuasion of Pericles, and he continued in it thirty years, without ever appearing before you either as plaintiff or defendant. His behaviour was so moderate and inoffensive, that it prevented him from doing injuries, and protected him against them. But there are times in which no man, how much soever he may be entitled to tranquillity, can expect to enjoy it. Such was that fatal period, when the Thirty assumed the direction of your affairs. Governed as they were, by the most abandoned principles, and actuated by the malignant spirit of calumny and revenge, they endeavoured to conceal the flagitious designs which they meditated against their country, under the appearance of promoting the public good. "The city must be purged from turbulent and corrupt men, that the contagion of their bad example being removed, other citizens may return to their duty, and public happiness be restored." This was their pretence, but you shall hear how far their conduct corresponded with it. Having first mentioned their behaviour towards myself, I shall afterwards describe what they committed against you.

Theognis

Theognis and Piso, two of the thirty tyrants, gave information to their associates, that many strangers established at Athens were disaffected towards the present government. This calumny was evidently contrived, in order to afford a plausible excuse for plundering the strangers; to which measure, the colleagues of Theognis and Piso were not only disposed by avarice, but prompted by fear. Money was become necessary for their safety, as their government, founded on usurpation, and tyrannically administered, could by no other means be supported. The life of man, therefore, they regarded as a matter of little moment; the amassing of wealth was the only object of their ambition. For this purpose, ten strangers were at once devoted to destruction. Among these, indeed, were two poor men; for thus did the tyrants hope to persuade you, that the remaining eight had also been condemned, not from a desire of rifling their effects, but of maintaining the public interest; as if this had ever been the object of their concern!

HAVING thus concerted their designs, they proceeded to carry them into execution. I was seized exercising the rites of hospitality, and, my guests being rudely dismissed, was delivered over to Piso. While his accomplices went into the workhouse to take a list of my slaves, I asked him, "If money could save my life?" "Yes, a considerable sum." "I will give you a talent of silver." "I am satisfied." I knew, Athenians! that he feared neither Gods nor men, yet in my present desperate condition, it was some small consolation even to depend on his brittle faith. After he had vowed destruction on himself and his children if he performed not his promise, I went to open my coffer in order to pay him the talent; but he, observing the contents, called one of his attendants,

and ordered him to seize them. When his servant had taken not only what was agreed on between us, but three talents of silver, a hundred daricks, three hundred cyzeceni, and four cups of silver, I begged of Piso, that he would allow me a small pittance to defray the expence of my journey; but he desired me to be thankful if I saved my life. As we were going out, we were met by Melobius and Mnesitheidés¹, who had returned from the workhouse. They enquired where we were going; Piso answered, "To my brother's house, that it likewise might be examined." They desired him to go on, but commanded me to follow them to Damasippus's house; upon which Piso whispered me to be silent and to fear nothing, for that he also would be there. When we arrived, we found Theognis placed as a guard upon several of my unfortunate companions. Here I remained among his prisoners, and those who conducted me, retired. In this unhappy condition, I thought it advisable to neglect no means of providing for my escape. Calling therefore Damasippus, I explained to him my situation; that I had been guilty of no crime, but was persecuted for my riches, and entreated him by our past friendship, to exert his influence in my behalf. He assured me of his favourable intentions, and of his resolution to intercede with Theognis, whom he supposed to be so avaricious that he would do any thing for money. Whilst they conversed, I being acquainted with the house, which had two entrances, thought proper to attempt getting out unnoticed. If I escaped, it was well; if I did not, Theognis might still be soothed by money; and should a bribe fail, my ruin, whether in slaying, or attempting to escape, was inevitable.

¹ Two of the thirty tyrants.

Influenced by these motives, while they guarded only the entrance from the court, I escaped by another passage, through three doors, which all happened to be open. Flying to the country-house of Archimæus, a ship-master, I sent him to the city to get intelligence of my brother. Upon his return, he informed me, that Eratosthenes had dragged him from the road, and carried him to prison. At this mournful news, I sailed in the night to Megara. And in the mean time, the Thirty issued their command, that Polemarchus should drink hemlock, without even alleging the smallest reason why he should suffer death; so far was he from being allowed a fair trial for his vindication. Having thus perished in prison, though we had no less than three houses belonging to us, they publicly exposed his body in a hired cottage, from which it was brought to be buried. Even his garments, in which he was well provided, were not used at his funeral; but of our friends, one supplied a cloak, another a pillow for his head, and each whatever happened to be nearest at hand. So shameful was their behaviour to him, though they had acquired seven hundred shields, the manufacture of our slaves, much gold, silver, and brass, with all sorts of furniture, and such a quantity of women's dress and ornaments, as they could never have expected to possess; and to crown all, a hundred and twenty slaves, of whom, giving the worst to the public, they kept the most dexterous and skilful for their private use. Such was the meanness of their avarice, that even the gold ear-rings of Polemarchus's wife, Melobius plucked from her ears: The most insignificant trinket was not spared; they plundered us for our wealth, as if they had been executing the decrees of justice
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against us for some enormous offence. But did *we* deserve such treatment; we who liberally distributed our fortune for the public interest, and often lavished it for the public amusement; we who, always behaving with moderation, never gave the least cause of resentment; we who ransomed many of your citizens from the enemy, and though foreigners, shewed more attachment to the country in which we lived, than such citizens as Eratosthenes to their native land? By them many Athenians were driven from their country, and obliged to take refuge among the enemy; many, after being put to death upon unjust accusations, were impiously suffered to lie unburied; those who deserved the highest honours, they disgraced and insulted; and not satisfied with wrecking their vengeance on the present generation, they cut off your future hopes by preventing the marriages of your children. What audacity is it then for such men to approach you with their defence; to plead innocence, to solicit protection, which, would to God! they deserved? For had *their* conduct been capable of excuse, *my* sorrows might admit of consolation, and I should not at present lament the public calamities and my own.

My brother, guiltless of any injury public or private, fell a sacrifice to the cruel avarice of Eratosthenes. And let him now appear, that I may interrogate him; for though with a view to his safety, it would be impious even to name him to another, I shall feel no horror at speaking to himself in order to promote his destruction. Step up then, and answer the questions which I shall put to you. "Did you carry off Polemarchus, or not?" "I executed ^{the burial} ~~by~~ fear what was commanded me by the magistrates." "Was you of the council, when our affair

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was examined?" "I was." "Did you concur with those who proposed to put us to death, or was you of a contrary opinion?" "I was of a contrary opinion." "Did you advise that we should die?" "I advised that you should not die." "Believing that we deserved death, or that we should have suffered unjustly?" "That you should have suffered unjustly." Thus, O most impudent, most insufferable of men, you voted for saving us, but laid hold of us that we might die! When our lives depended on your cabal, you opposed the opinion of those who sought our death; but when the life of Polemarchus depended on yourself alone, you imprisoned and murdered him! And now, dare you expect favour for what you advised without effect, rather than dread punishment for what you actually committed?

But it is unreasonable, Athenians! to believe, that he ever gave any such advice; for, is it possible, that had he opposed our death, he should have been appointed our executioner? Would his colleagues have chosen to try his fidelity by this delicate act of obedience? Surely they might have found a fitter instrument to execute their orders, than the man who disapproved of them, and who had openly declared his opinion? But on the supposition that this really was the case, it would still be of no avail to him. It is an excuse indeed for the rest of the citizens, who, in those turbulent times, were sometimes compelled to acts of violence and injustice, that their conduct was not voluntary, but in compliance with the orders of the Thirty, whom it was death to disobey: But the Thirty can never defend their own crimes by charging them on one another. Had there been any authority in the state to which their own was subordinate, and which commanded them to put the
citizens

citizens to death, then indeed they might plead necessity, and perhaps be deemed worthy of pardon; but being themselves sovereign and supreme, they must likewise be themselves answerable for their behaviour. For how could you ever punish their crimes, if you admit as an excuse for the Thirty, that they obeyed the orders of the Thirty.

But Eratosthenes even exceeded these orders. For though commanded to search for Polemarchus in his house, a command highly criminal and oppressive! he pursued him flying for safety into the road, and thence dragged him to prison. If those deserve mercy, who, in order to secure themselves, violate the rights of others, is there no pity for the innocent?

“But Eratosthenes would have endangered his own safety, had he not come to my brother’s house, or if, finding him there, he had denied his having seen him.” Be it so. As the matter actually happened, however, there was no danger. His defence was ready, either that he did not observe him on the road, or did not know him; for in neither case was it in the power of his colleagues, either by witnesses or cross-examining, to convict him. And had you, Eratosthenes! felt any thing of that humanity to which you pretend, you would rather have given warning to an innocent man pursued to death, than co-operated with his insolent oppressors. But your conduct affords sufficient proof, that, far from being dissatisfied with your commission, you delighted in executing it. The decision of the judges, therefore, will be founded on the actions which you performed, and not on the words which you pretend to have said; they will consider your actions as a proof that those words, of which you can bring no evidence, were not really spoken by you: For

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it is easy for the Thirty, to whose meetings we had not access, against whose violence, even in our own houses, we were not secure, to extol the humanity of their speeches, while their actions were directed against our property and our lives. But admitting that you opposed the sentiments of your colleagues, pray what would have been your conduct had you agreed with them; since, even as it was, you put Polemarchus to death? Had he been your brother or father, would you have saved him? For it would be necessary, Athenians! either to prove, that he did not carry off Polemarchus, or that he acted justly in doing so; but as he has given up both these points, you can no longer have any difficulty in your decision.

By this cause the attention of mankind has been excited: the citizens and strangers now present are big with expectation; and the fate of Eratosthenes alone must discover your sentiments of the whole cabal. Now is the time to teach your citizens, that their crimes will either meet with immediate punishment, or, though this should for a short time be deferred, and their ambition be crowned with success by the acquisition of sovereign power, that justice will still pursue and overtake them, deprive them of their usurped pre-eminence, and confound them with the meanest criminals. Now is the time to justify before strangers, the expulsion of your tyrants; for if they perceive, that, after getting them into your power, you still allow them to escape unpunished, they will have reason to deem their own activity in promoting your deliverance, equally officious and vain.

And how inconsistent will it appear, that you who punished with death the commanders in the sea-engagement, because

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they were unable to draw up dead bodies from the bottom of a tempestuous sea^m, saying, that it was necessary to sacrifice the living to the virtues of the dead, should neglect to chastise those men, who, when in a private station, exerted their utmost endeavours to render us unfortunate at sea, and when vested with supreme authority, sported with the lives of your citizens? Ought not your resentment to be kindled against them and their children?—Surely I have already said enough upon this indictment; for, when a criminal is proved deserving of death, the ultimate point to which mankind can push their revenge, it is to no purpose to accumulate new charges against him. We need not, therefore, burden the libel of the Thirty with many articles; for the punishment would not be adequate, were they twice to suffer death for the least of their crimes.

Nor can they plead that defence which is so often employed with success; they can relate no services which can counterbalance their demerit; and if they admit, which of necessity they must, the truth of what has been asserted against them, they can boast of no gallant action, to blunt the edge of your resentment. They cannot elude the accusation, by shewing, like many others of your citizens, their laurels gained in the field, the ships taken from your enemies, the cities joined to your alliance. Let them speak.—When did you kill as many of our enemies abroad, as you murdered of our citizens at home? When did you seize as many of their ships, as you betrayed of ours? What city did you deliver, comparable to Athens, which you enslaved? What bulwark did you ever destroy equal to that

^m See the introduction to this Oration.

of your country? When you confessed that you had demolished the Pireum, not to gratify the Lacedæmonians, but to render your own tyranny more firm and stable!

I have often wondered that such men as Eratosthenes should dare to defend crimes no less palpable than heinous. None surely could be capable of this audacity, but men of the most abandoned characters, and who had already shewn many previous instances of villany and baseness. This was not, therefore, the first time he had trampled on our laws, and opposed the spirit of our government. When the tyranny of the four hundred was established in the army at Samos, Eratosthenes abandoned the ship which he commanded in the Hellespont, and came hither with Hierocles and others (their names are too well known to be mentioned), with a design to oppose the friends of liberty, then struggling to preserve the democratical government. That this is the truth, the witnesses shall prove. *The witnesses are examined.*

After that fatal sea-fight, which, though the republic still continued for a short time to subsist, may be regarded as the era of our misfortunes, there were five men appointed by the cabal, under pretence of acting the part of censors, and of summoning and preserving order among the tribes, but in reality to be the chiefs of the party, and to undermine the true interest of the state. Of this number were Eratosthenes and Critias, who, by their accomplices, gained a complete ascendant over the tribes, and prevailed on them to pass what laws, and to appoint what magistrates, they themselves thought proper. Thus was the state at once a prey to enemies both foreign and

domestic: For the cabal well knew, that they could never build their influence on any other foundation, but the ruins of their country. Hence their enmity to the state; hence their contrivance to render your own decrees destructive of the public good, and to reduce your affairs into so deplorable a situation, that the necessity of struggling against the calamities which they occasioned, might prevent you from opposing that tyranny which they intended to establish. That Eratosthenes was one of these censors, I can prove; not by the testimony of his colleagues (this indeed is not in my power), but of those who were the instruments of his oppression. These, had they behaved wisely, would ere now have given information against him who employed them in so mean a service; disregarding engagements, by whatever oaths confirmed, which had been entered into with a public enemy, and sacrificing every scruple of conscience to the interest of their country. Let the witnesses be called and examined.—You hear then, that their testimony is entirely agreeable to what I have related.

But last of all, when he became a member of the supreme council, he was guilty of innumerable outrages, without ever having even a share in one good action. Had he been a worthy citizen, he would neither have usurped an authority unwarranted by law, and contrary to the principles of our constitution, nor given ear to those false accusations which were brought before the senate; but he would have asserted with the freedom and boldness of an honest man, that Batrachus and Æschylides did not declare the truth, but bore testimony to libels, maliciously contrived by the Thirty, for the destruction of their fellow-citizens. For in that unhappy conjuncture, such as were silent deserved as much blame as those who told false-

hoods : Both were equally injurious to the state ; for, because these were silent, the cabal alone spoke and acted, than which there could not possibly be a greater calamity. It is in vain then, for any one to pretend to have wished well to his country, who did not on this occasion, both by his speeches and actions, give a proof of his good-will.

Eratosthenes, however, may still insist, that, being afraid of incurring the resentment of his colleagues, he was compelled to an involuntary silence. This defence, were it founded in truth, would certainly be of great weight : But if it appears that he had no occasion to dread the resentment of his associates, and that his influence among them was so great, that he could oppose them all without danger to himself, it must be evident, that he concurred in every design which he did not openly disapprove. For, why did he not display the same courage in your behalf, which he exerted in defence of Theramenes, the cause of your misfortunes—if it did not proceed from this, that, considering the state as his enemy, he naturally regarded as his friends, those who had been most active in subverting it ? This I can evidently demonstrate, as well as that all those dissensions which took place among the Thirty, instead of proceeding from any praise-worthy or public cause, were only so many contests of private ambition, to decide who should have the greatest share in the government, or rather in the oppression, of their country. For had their disputes arisen about the common good, or on account of the injuries which had been offered to the citizens ; when could the honest party have a fairer opportunity of discovering the integrity of their intentions, and of taking vengeance on the public enemies, than after Thrasylus had got possession of Phylè ? But instead of co-operating
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with this deliverer of his country, Eratosthenes departed with his partners in power, to Salamis and Eleusis, after throwing into confinement three hundred of the citizens, all of whom were condemned to death by one decree.

Even after we had become masters of the Pireum, and by the victory which we there obtained over the partizans of the oligarchy, had reason to flatter ourselves that the civil dissensions were at an end, the wicked artifices of certain persons still continued to disappoint us. The friends of liberty, victorious in the field, did not push their advantages, but allowed their enemies to return back into the city. These, behaving with equal moderation, endeavoured, on their return, to pursue such measures as might bring about a thorough reconciliation between the contending parties. They banished all the Thirty tyrants, except Phædon and Eratosthenes; and they elected into office the persons who had most openly opposed their administration; imagining, that this opposition was the surest pledge of their good intention towards the citizens at the Pireum. Among these new magistrates, were Epichares, Hippocles, and Phædon, who had formerly been one of the Thirty. They had all vehemently arraigned the proceedings of Critias and Charicles, and warmly contended against that whole faction; but no sooner were they themselves possessed of sovereign power than they imitated an example which they had so loudly condemned, and showed their animosity to be greater against you of the Pireum, than even against your oppressors; by which they gave an evident proof, that their dissensions with the latter had not arisen from a desire of benefiting you, or from resentment on account of those who were unjustly put to death, or from pity for such as at present stood on the brink of destruction,

tion, but only from their own criminal passions: They envied the wealth and power which the faction of Critias had acquired, and which they themselves were willing to purchase with the same crimes.

When they had thus become masters of the government and the city, they commenced hostilities against both parties; against the Thirty, who had committed so many outrages; and against you, who had suffered them. Yet it was evident, that if the Thirty deserved punishment, you deserved protection; and that if they were banished justly, you had been banished unjustly; since this was the very pretence upon which they had been expelled. It is impossible, then, to feel too much indignation against the conduct of Phædon, who, though chosen into the magistracy in order to reconcile you to your fellow-citizens, and to bring you back into your country, shamefully betrayed his trust, co-operated with Eratosthenes, and while he pretended on your account to inflict punishment on the Thirty, refused to restore to you, whom they had injured, the rights of Athenians, and the enjoyment of your native soil. He even went into Lacedæmon, and endeavoured to persuade the Spartans to take up arms; using arguments equally injurious to you, and capable of working on their ambition; among others, that the state was ready to submit to the Bœotians. As this design, however, failed, whether because the sacrifices were unfavourable, or because the Spartans, at this time, were not inclined to war; he borrowed an hundred talents to raise an army, which he committed to the command of Lyfander, an obstinate partizan of the oligarchy, who steadily opposed the true interest of this country, and who had a particular enmity against the Athenians at the Pireum.

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Thus, bribing individuals, instigating whole nations, and at length the Lacedæmonians themselves, with several of their allies, he did not propose to reconcile the citizens to one another, but utterly to subvert the state. And even this he must have effected, had it not been for those brave men, whose virtue you ought now to recompense, by punishing their enemies. These matters you know from your own experience; so that there is no necessity for witnesses; however, let them be called, as I should here incline to make a pause; and some of you may be fond of hearing the same truths from different persons. *The witnesses.*

I shall now speak of Theramenes in as few words as possible. And I entreat you to hear me for myself and the state. For it is Eratosthenes's apology, that he was a friend to Theramenes, and shared with him in all his exploits; yet, had he been employed in the government with Themistocles, he would doubtless have made a merit of building the Pireum, as he now does of having demolished it with Theramenes. But these actions appear to me in a very different light: Themistocles, deceiving our enemies, erected our walls; Theramenes, betraying his country, pulled them down, by which he broke the very sinews of your power. Instead of sheltering themselves under the merit of Theramenes, the friends of this traitor ought to dread the same punishment which was inflicted on himself, unless they can prove that they disavowed his conduct, and maintained a contrary opinion with regard to public affairs: For Theramenes was the principal agent in establishing the government of the four hundred; a system of tyranny, which his father, one of the senators, had contrived.

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While his power was unequalled, he behaved with fidelity; but no sooner did he observe, that Pisander, Callæschrus, and others, began to rival him in your esteem, than, joining with Aristocrates, he formed an accusation against Antiphon and Archiptolemus, two of his most intimate friends; and such was his baseness, that, in order to seduce your favour, he sacrificed those very men by whose means he had formerly enslaved you: By this conduct, he once more attained pre-eminence; and, deceiving you by a chimerical discovery, pretended, that he would conclude a peace, without giving hostages, demolishing your walls, or delivering up your fleet. But this grand, this important secret, it was necessary to conceal from you; all men were blindly to trust in Theramenes, without knowing the cause of their confidence. And you, Athenians! though the Areopagus were solicitous for your safety, though many murmured against Theramenes, dreading, that whilst others conceal from the enemy what they communicate to their countrymen, he would communicate to your enemies what he concealed from his fellow-citizens; you, I say, entrusted solely to his care, your country, your children, your wives, and your own safety. But he, regardless of his promises, persisted in his resolution of ruining the state. So that, what you never dreaded, and what your enemies durst not desire, he persuaded you to do. Nor was he compelled by the Lacedæmonians, but voluntarily agreed, to demolish the walls of the Pireum, and to dissolve your present government. And indeed, affairs were brought to such a pass, that his safety and your destruction were inseparably connected; nor could he avert your vengeance, but by rendering you unable to punish him.

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No assembly, therefore, was called, until the time agreed on between him and the Lacedæmonians, when the ships of Lyfander were brought from Samos, and the enemy had advanced into the heart of your country: Then, indeed, he convened you, to deliberate on your affairs, when his associates, Lyfander, Philochares, and Miltiades, were present; when no orator durst accuse or oppose him; when you yourselves could pass no vote but what was dictated by your enemies. In this conjuncture he advised you to commit the city to thirty men, and to establish that form of government which Dracontides had prescribed. And when you, provoked by these indignities, even surrounded as you were, began to be in commotion, he declared, and I take yourselves who heard him to witness, that he despised your anger; for that many would concur in his designs, and vote whatever seemed good to Lyfander, and the Lacedæmonians. Lyfander then stood up, and among other audacious sentiments, declared you to be men of no faith; and that if you did not agree to Theramenes's proposal, the question would be no longer about your government, but your safety. As many as were good men, sensible of the snare which had been laid for them, and yielding to the fatality of circumstances, either remained silent, or left the assembly with the melancholy, though virtuous consolation, of not being concerned in passing a vote for the destruction of their country. But a few men of malevolent hearts and corrupt principles continued there, and voted as they were commanded; electing into office ten persons, named by Theramenes alone, ten named by the rest of the cabalⁿ, and ten who were then present in the

ⁿ The original says, they were named by the leaders of the cabal, that is, by the five censors, chosen for assembling the citizens, of whom Eratosthenes was one. See above.

assembly. Thus, Athenians! was your destruction complete, when even your votes were no longer free.

Of all this I can give you the evidence of Theramenes himself. He made his defence in the council of his associates, by the merit of having performed all that I have now laid to his charge. There he asserted, that, not the Lacedæmonians, but he himself, had caused the revolution, and reproached his colleagues for conspiring against the man to whom they owed their power, and to whom they had sworn obedience. Can Theramenes then be called your friend, who, both before, and on this occasion, involved you in the greatest calamities; who perished not in your defence, but on account of his own crimes; who must have been justly punished, either in the oligarchy, which he dissolved, or in the democracy, which he twice subverted; a man ever discontented with his present situation, fond of revolutions, and who, under plausible pretences, concealed the most villanous designs?

But enough of Theramenes. The time is now come, when, insensible to pity and tenderness, you must be armed with just severity against Eratosthenes and his associates. What avails it to have conquered them in the field, if you be overcome by them in your councils? Do not shew them more favour for what they boast they will perform, than resentment for what they have already committed; nor, after being at so much pains to become master of their persons, allow them to escape without suffering that punishment which you once sought to inflict, but prove yourselves worthy of that good fortune, which has given you power over your enemies. The contest is very unequal between Eratosthenes and you: Formerly, he was both judge and accuser, but we, even while we accuse, must at the same time make our

defence. Those who were innocent, he put to death without trial; to them who are guilty, we allow the benefit of law, even though no adequate punishment can ever be inflicted. For should we sacrifice them and their children, would this compensate for the murder of your fathers, your sons, and your brothers? Should we deprive them of their property, could this indemnify the individuals whom they have beggared, or the state which they have plundered? Though they cannot suffer a punishment adequate to their demerit, they ought not surely on this account to escape. Yet how matchless is the effrontery of Eratosthenes, who, being now judged by the very persons whom he formerly injured, still ventures to make his defence before the witnesses of his crimes? What can shew more evidently the contempt in which he holds you, or the confidence which he reposes in others? This you ought not to neglect, but hold it for certain, that without accomplices he would never have committed such outrages against you, or at present would he venture to defend them. And what can be the motive of those accomplices, but to remove their apprehensions on account of what they have already done, and henceforward to acquire the power of acting with impunity? But I wonder, whether they will attempt to save him by their own merit with the citizens, (whom, would to God! they had been as ready to protect, as he was to annoy) or whether, resting their sole defence on the character of the defendant, they will endeavour, by rhetoric and chicane, to varnish the most flagrant breaches of every law human and divine? Yet these artful speakers never displayed their eloquence in defending the cause of the innocent, or in delivering you from oppression. As to the witnesses
3 who

who now appear with a view to save him, but by whose testimony he must stand condemned, what can be their opinion of your understanding, if they expect that you will now deliberately pardon those who, after murdering your relations, would not permit you to bury them? Those who, should they be now saved by your simplicity, would again overwhelm you in the common ruin of your country; while your friends, whom they put to death, cannot again perish in your defence? It is indeed very remarkable, that though there were so few to undertake your cause, in itself so just, and though none durst shew their regard for such as were destroyed by the Thirty without exposing themselves to the like calamity, there should now be so many patrons ready to protect your destroyers, and to defend their proceedings.

It is still urged, in favour of Eratosthenes, that of all the Thirty he was the least culpable, and therefore deserves pardon. But surely of all the other Greeks, he was the most culpable, and therefore deserves punishment. By passing a just decree, you will shew your displeasure and indignation; by acquitting him, you become accomplices of his crimes, and cannot even make use of his defence, That you were compelled by the Thirty; for at present no man can compel you to vote in opposition to your sentiments. Do not then accuse yourselves by absolving him: Your decree cannot remain secret; it must be known to your country.

I shall conclude, with laying before you the miseries to which you were reduced, that you may see the necessity of taking punishment on the authors of them. And first, you who remained.

remained in the city, consider the severity of their government^o; you were reduced into such a situation as to be obliged to carry on a war, in which, if you were conquered, you partook indeed of the same liberty with the conquerors; but if you proved victorious, you remained under the slavery of your magistrates. Consider, that while they enriched their private families, they beggared you by a civil war, from which you had no advantages to expect, as you could participate with them only in their disgrace. This was the uncommon method by which they secured your fidelity, (than which, what could be more contemptuous?) not by sharing with you their riches or their power, but by exposing you to that detestation, in which they were held by all real lovers of their country. Take vengeance then for yourselves whom they thus insulted, and for your countrymen whom they banished. You were formerly enslaved by traitors to their country, you now deliberate, and fight, and govern, in concert with its deliverers. Avail yourselves of this happy revolution; shew that you are worthy of that liberty, which, notwithstanding all their guards^p, has been restored; avenge the enemies of the state, and secure its future tranquillity.

To such as remained in Athens, I might still with propriety say a great deal more; but this shall be sufficient. As to you of the Pireum, you will remember, that though you never lost your arms in the battles which you fought, or in the lands which you traversed, yet you suffered by these men what your foreign enemies could never accomplish; and at

^o The government of the Thirty.

^p He means the guards sent by the Lacedæmonians, to support the government of the Thirty.

home,

home, in time of peace, were disarmed by your fellow-citizens. By them, you were banished from the country left you by your fathers. Their rage, knowing no abatement, pursued you abroad, and drove you from one territory to another. Recal the same resentment which you then felt. Remember the cruel indignities which you suffered; how you were dragged from the tribunal and the altars; how no place, however sacred, could shelter you against their violence! while others, torn from their wives, their children, their parents, after putting a period to their miserable lives, were deprived of funeral rites. For these tyrants imagined their government to be so firmly established, that even the vengeance of the Gods was unable to shake it^a.

But you who escaped immediate death, who fled, you knew not whither, no asylum affording you protection; every where taking refuge, yet every where abandoned; who, leaving your children among strangers or enemies, and destitute of all the necessaries of life, made your way to the Pireum, where, overcoming all opposition, you showed the triumph of virtue over numbers and force, regained the city for yourselves, and freedom for your countrymen,—What must have been your situation had you proved unfortunate in the engagement? Again compelled to fly, no temples, no altars, could have saved you. The children who accompanied you, would have been reduced into the vilest servitude; those whom you left behind, deprived of all help, would at a mean price have been sold to your enemies. But why should I mention what might have happened, not being able to relate what was actually done? For it

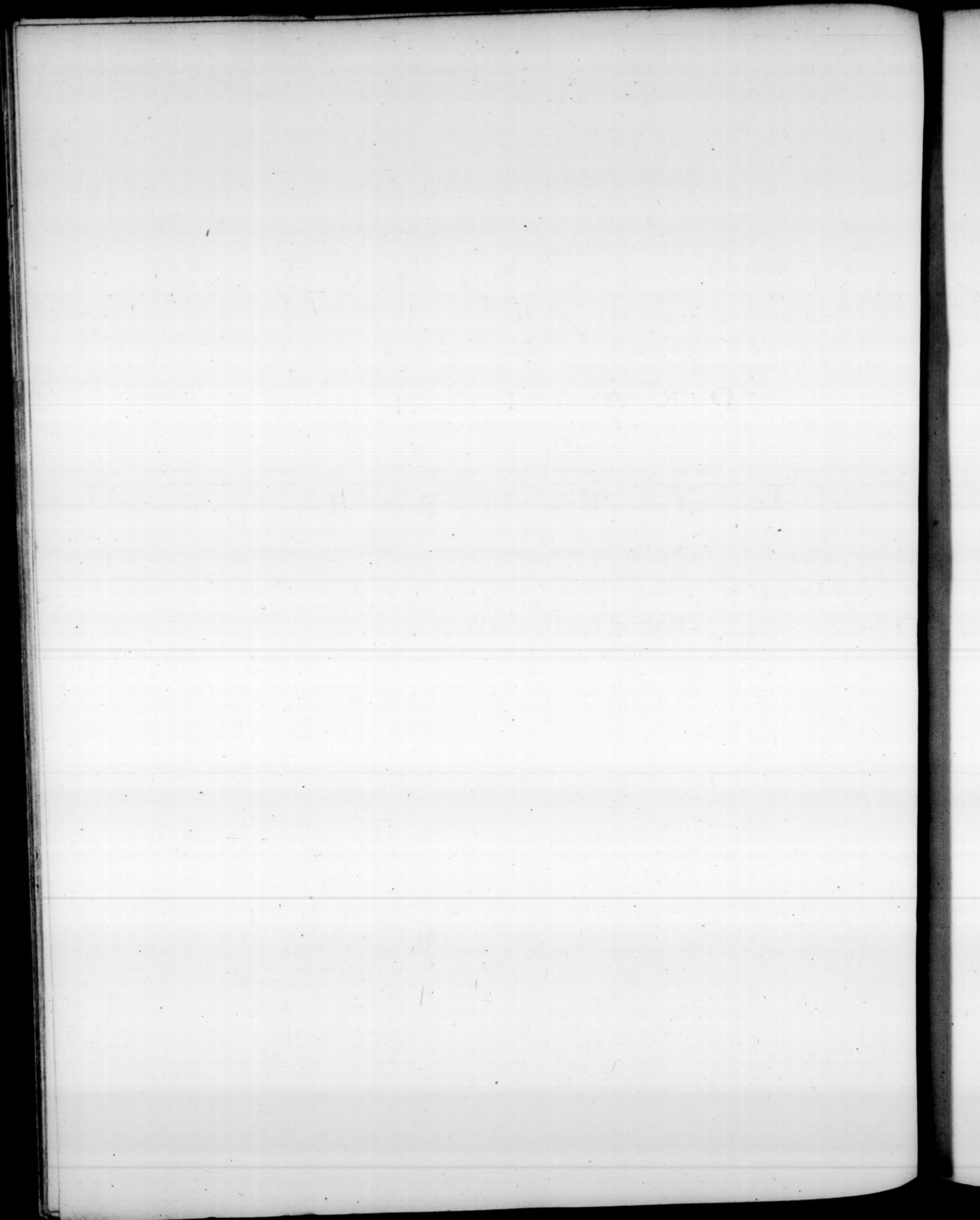
^a Depriving the dead of funeral rites, was considered by the Greeks as one of the greatest impieties which could be committed.

is impossible for one man, or in the course of one trial, to enumerate the means which were employed to undermine the power of this state; the arsenals which were demolished, the temples sold or profaned, the citizens banished or murdered, and whose dead bodies were impiously left uninterred. Those citizens now watch your decree, uncertain whether you will prove accomplices in their death, or avengers of their murder. You have heard, you have seen, you have suffered, and in consequence pass your decree.

THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS
IN

Defence of a CITIZEN, accused of being concerned in
dissolving the DEMOCRACY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS Oration affords one of the many examples of persons accused, under the Democracy, of assisting to establish or support the government of the thirty tyrants. Lysias denies, that his client had any connection with them; and proves from the whole tenour of his life, that he detested their principles and proceedings. The only foundation, indeed, for impeaching this citizen, seems to be, that he had remained peaceably in Athens, and had suffered no injury during the usurpation of the Thirty.

Besides illustrating several passages of Grecian history, this Discourse explains the nature and causes of the different parties into which the Athenians were divided; and shews to what an excessive pitch of insolence informers had arrived, soon after the re-establishment of the Democracy.

NOTES

1. The first part of the notes is a general introduction to the subject of the study. It discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. The second part of the notes is a detailed description of the methods used in the study. It includes a description of the subjects, the procedures, and the data collection methods. The third part of the notes is a discussion of the results of the study. It includes a description of the findings and a comparison of the results with previous research. The fourth part of the notes is a conclusion and a list of references.

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AN
ORATION
OF
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Defence of a CITIZEN, accused of being concerned
in dissolving the DEMOCRACY.

WHILE you are inflamed by the violent speeches of incendiaries, and reflect on what you suffered while you were obliged to remain in exile, I can easily excuse you, Athenians! for confounding, in the first warmth of your generous indignations, all those who continued in the city. But I cannot pardon those invidious accusers, who, neglecting their own affairs, interfere in what so little concerns them. They can well distinguish between the innocent and the guilty; and it is the sordid prospect of gaining by calumny and falsehood, that alone makes them persuade you to form the same opinion of men, whose characters are so unlike, and even opposite to one another.

If they have drawn up the libel against me, upon a supposition of my being accessory to the guilt of the thirty tyrants, they are feeble orators indeed; for they have not described one
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half of the outrages which these tyrants committed. But if they mean to prove, that I was their accomplice, it is easy to convict them of the grossest misrepresentation; for I can shew, that my conduct was such as yours, Athenians! would have been, had you then remained in Athens. Be not, therefore, I intreat you, of the same mind with informers: It is their part to accuse the innocent, in order to enrich themselves; but it ought to be yours, to render all who are not guilty equal sharers in the advantages of government; for by this you will preserve the constitution. If it can be made appear then, that, instead of having occasioned any misfortune to the state, I employed both my person and my property in its service; it will, surely, be deemed equitable, that I meet with the same treatment, to which even those are entitled, who possess only the negative merit of having done no wrong.

It might be a sufficient proof of my innocence, and of the difficulty of finding any particular crime to lay to my charge, that the accusers endeavour to involve me in the punishment of other men, whose guilt I never shared, and with whom I never was connected. The motive of so uncommon a proceeding it is easy to discover; they believe, that your resentment against the Thirty may be extended to every object around them. But it is most unjust, Athenians! if I have conferred any advantages on my countrymen, that others should reap the fruits of my merit; and that, because the Thirty have involved you in the most signal calamities, I should now be calumniated and accused. You need not seek for imaginary criminals, on whom to wreck your vengeance; real enemies are not wanting to the state, men who take delight in traducing their fellow citizens.

I shall now endeavour to inform you, who are the natural partizans both of oligarchy and democracy; from which you may learn to distinguish them, and thus be prepared to listen favourably to my defence: For I shall prove, that my interests have ever been inseparably connected with those of the people.

First of all, then, it seems evident, that by nature no man has a greater attachment to one form of government than to another. We are born with principles neither oligarchical nor democratical; but under whatever government we feel ourselves uneasy, that we are desirous to subvert. It therefore depends on your present good conduct and moderation, to confirm the citizens in their attachment to the constitution which you have so lately established.

That the matter is fairly represented, you may learn from experience. You are not ignorant, how often the leaders of both factions have changed sides. Did not Phrynichus^{*}, Pisander, and several other demagogues, after their crimes had exposed them to your resentment, plan and establish the former oligarchy^{*}? Did not several of the Four Hundred return with you from the Pireum? Were not some of those, who had assisted in expelling the Four Hundred, afterwards associates of the Thirty? And of those who were banished to Eleusis, were not several who fled with you, besieged with your enemies? It is evident, therefore, that it was not the form of government, but the private interest of individuals, which formed the object of contention. And according to this principle, you ought to judge of the present disposition of the ci-

^{*} Introduction to the oration relative to Alcibiades.

^{*} That of the Four Hundred, citizens.

tizens. Whoever in the democracy had been disgraced for malversation in office, had been deprived of his property, or, in a word, had either actually suffered, or then stood exposed to suffer any misfortune; it is natural to believe, that he, whatever might be his pretences, would desire a change of government, as a thing advantageous to himself. But as to those, on the contrary, who had been of real service to the people, had never done them any injury, had great rewards to expect, and no punishment to fear; it is unreasonable to listen to the voice of calumny, though the whole body of your magistrates should join in accusing them.

The latter description is mine. There was no reason for me, to desire the destruction of the people's authority. I had been appointed five times to the office of Trierarch; I had commanded in four sea-engagements; contributed liberally towards the support of government on all ordinary occasions; and in the discharge of public offices distinguished myself by uncommon generosity and expence. All this I performed in order to obtain your good-will, and in case of danger, to secure your protection. But the merit of my services perished with the democracy. For, during the government of the Four Hundred, those who had insulted their fellow-citizens, were advanced to honour and preferment. The outrages which they had committed, were regarded as pledges of their fidelity. You ought not, therefore, to give credit to my accusers, but to examine me by the conduct which I maintained. I was not one of the Four Hundred (if I speak falsely, let me be convicted); nor during the whole time of their usurpation, did I either deliberate as a senator, or execute any other act of magistracy. Now, if, while I might not only have been employed, but advanced
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and honoured by them, I rejected all their offers on your account, you are bound in gratitude to return this favour. And, on the contrary, if those in power were unwilling to allow me to share it with them, can there be a stronger proof of the falsehood of my accusers?

Consider, likewise, the rest of my behaviour. Had all the citizens conformed to it, you would not have been involved in those misfortunes which you now so justly lament. During the oligarchy, I dragged no one into prison, I took vengeance on no enemy, and benefited no friend. The last circumstance, indeed, is not matter of surprise; for, at that time, to do good was extremely difficult, but the road of injustice was open to all who chose to follow it. Neither did I insert the names of strangers among those of the citizens; nor condemn any person by an unjust decision, nor enrich myself by the calamities of my country. And, if the authors of such offences excite your resentment, those who abstained from them in a time of general license and disorder, are unquestionably entitled to your approbation. At that time, I gave the surest pledge of my future behaviour, and the strongest proof of my unshaken fidelity towards the republic. For, having acted uprightly when there was no check to controul me, I must be mad to behave otherwise, at a time when none can be criminal with impunity. It has been my constant endeavour, to be as inoffensive in turbulent times, as generous and active in support of government. Surely, Athenians! you have reason to hate, not those who escaped injustice, but those who committed it. You ought to regard as your enemies, not those who remained in the city, but such as drove you from it by force; nor should you blame the men who sought to provide for their own safety,

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but such as armed themselves with power for the destruction of their fellow-citizens. For, if you think it your duty to condemn by law, all who escaped the lawless fury of the Thirty, none of the citizens can be saved.

You should be instructed by the experience of what happened in the late revolution. It is well known, that, under the former democracy¹, many had embezzled the public treasure, not a few had submitted to undue influence in the management of public affairs; and others, by false, slanderous, and seditious speeches, had alienated the minds of your allies. Had the Thirty confined themselves to the punishment of such treachery and corruption, their conduct would have been irreproachable. But you are seized with just indignation against them, because they raged with indiscriminate fury against the great body of the people, and retaliated the injuries of a few upon the state itself. Let not their violence then be the object of your imitation; nor think you can ever be justified in maintaining a conduct towards others, which, in your own case, you so loudly condemn. But, having now the supreme power in your hands, behave to those who are subject to it, as you yourselves would wish to have been treated at the time when you were banished from your country. Thus you will maintain the public tranquillity, and render the city happy in itself, and formidable to its enemies.

The unfortunate transactions of the Thirty ought to teach you to avoid their mistakes. While you understood, that there were no dissensions in the city, you had small expectation of re-

¹ Preceding the usurpation of the thirty tyrants.

turning into it; and you judged the unanimity of your enemies the greatest obstacle to the recovery of your own rights. But when you heard, that the Three thousand had divided into factions", that the rest of the citizens were driven into banishment, and that the Thirty were at variance among themselves; then you conceived hopes of returning to your country, and of taking vengeance on your oppressors. For their conduct was such as you ought to have wished it to be; nay, as you had prayed to the Gods that it might become; and you reposed more confidence in their abandoned wickedness than in your own power. Instructed by this example, you ought to deem those the best citizens who religiously observe their oaths for maintaining the public peace, which would be as advantageous to the friends of the present constitution, as detrimental to those who wished to subvert it. What will give them more uneasiness than to hear that, under your government, the citizens listen to no accusations against each other? You are not ignorant, that exiles delight in nothing so much as in the trials and disgrace of their fellow-citizens. They expect, that such as are ill-treated at home, will add weight to their own cause and party; and therefore delight in the wickedness of informers.

If you reflect upon what happened immediately after the government of the Four Hundred, you may be persuaded, that the advice which is now proposed to you by my enemies, never tended to the public good; and that the measures which I ex-

^u See Introduction to the Orations for and against Alcibiades.

hort you to pursue, have been equally advantageous under every form of government. You well remember how Epigenes, Diophanes, and Clisthenes, enriching themselves by the misfortunes of their country, were the cause of many public calamities. They persuaded you to put to death, without trial, many of their fellow-citizens; to confiscate the property of others; and to banish or disgrace all who had incurred their displeasure. While they thus destroyed the innocent, they protected the guilty for money. At the conclusion of their labours, they themselves had amassed immense wealth, and had thrown the public into a state of the utmost misery and distress. Then, indeed, you became sensible of your error, and having recalled the banished, honoured those in disgrace, and sworn to place all the citizens on an equal footing, you seemed even more disposed to punish those who had acted the part of informers under the democracy, than even the tyrants during the oligarchy. And with good reason. It was the mismanagement of the latter, that enabled you twice to recover your liberties, after you had as often abandoned them through the malignant calumnies of the former. Why would you again listen to such as have so often betrayed you? The citizens who returned from the Pireum, who acquired so much glory, braved so many dangers, and conferred so many benefits on the public, are surely more deserving imitation. Yet these have often exhorted the people to remain firm in their engagements*, as the only method of preserving the present system of government: and it is certainly more worthy of you, to yield to this advice, than to become the dupes of men, who, having been saved during banishment

* The amnesty proposed by Thrasybulus.

by the favour of others, are no sooner returned home, than they plan the destruction of their benefactors. For my own part, I think, that such as remained in the city, and copied my example, gave the fullest display of their character both under the oligarchy and democracy.

It deserves your consideration, Athenians! what would be the conduct of those men, if invested with arbitrary power, who, even in the bosom of a republic, pursue the same measures with the Thirty. They were poor, and of a sudden have become rich; they held many offices of profit, and have given no account of their administration. You lived in cordiality and friendship, they have filled you with suspicions and hatred. You were at peace with all your neighbours, they have involved you in war, and deprived you of the confidence of the Greeks. But, though they have occasioned all these and many other calamities, and differ from the thirty tyrants more in name than in reality, they seem to think themselves entitled to injure their fellow-citizens with impunity; as if all others had been enemies to the state, and they alone your benefactors. To this pitch of insolence have they proceeded, presuming on the merit and bravery of you who returned from the Pireum. They have determined to appropriate all the fruits of your past services, nor are they at pains to conceal their intentions; it is their ambition to have them known and published.

But you are yourselves, O Athenians! still more blameable. You regard your government as republican, while these men are your masters; and you punish not such as have injured the people, but all who refuse by bribes to avert the resentment of your tyrants. I am persuaded, however, it would

be most conducive to the public good, that you maintained inviolate that amnesty, to the observance of which you have sworn. Yet it is impossible to reflect on your past sufferings, without vindicating your resentment against the authors of them, and your breaking through every formality in order to bring them to punishment. But when you confound the innocent with the guilty, *and indulge a resentment without bounds, your conduct is so manifestly unjust, that it can admit of no excuse*^v.

^v The words in italicks are not in the original, but the sense naturally leads any one to supply them with certainty, who is acquainted with the author's manner and turn of expression. I have also taken the liberty to alter the order of the sentences in the last part of this Discourse; as they stand in the Greek, they are unconnected, and scarcely intelligible.

AN
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
WRITTEN
FOR THE PLATÆANS.

INTRODUCTION.

PLATÆA was a small independent territory in Bœotia; and its capital, of the same name, only nine miles distant from Thebes². This neighbourhood was not a little dangerous to the Platæans, a people as desirous of preserving their liberty, as unable to defend it against the Theban power. They determined, therefore, to compensate for their own weakness, by the strength of their allies, and threw themselves into the arms of Athens, which, from motives of opposition to Thebes, enabled them to maintain their independence. The connection which fear and policy had established between the Athenians and Platæans, was cemented by continual good offices during the course of ninety years, and at length grew into the firmest and most lasting attachment. Never did allies go greater lengths in defence of one another; for, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Platæans, after suffering incredible hardships, allowed themselves to be driven from their country, rather than violate their fidelity³.

Such instances of political friendships, however extraordinary they may appear in the present age, were the natural result of certain situations in ancient Greece. The little republic of Phlius, lying between the territories of the Arcadians and Argives, and therefore particularly jealous of every appearance of authority which these powerful neighbours endeavoured to usurp over it, preserved, in the midst of dangers,

² Thucyd. book ii.

³ Ibid. book iii.

an invariable adherence to Sparta. No threats or ^b hardships could make the Phliasians forsake their alliance with that state, which they regarded as their best defence against the severities and cruelties of their enraged neighbours.

That the attachment of the Platæans to Athens, was in a great measure founded on a similar principle, appears from the discourse before us; which, though it afford no small assistance in explaining the history of Greece, has been but little attended to ^c, and still less understood, by those who have undertaken to illustrate it.

While Athens and Thebes continued to act in opposition to each other, the Platæans were satisfied with the Athenian protection; but they acknowledged, that when these two states had united against the Lacedæmonians, they courted the assistance of the latter as their best security, in the present crisis, against the hostilities of the Thebans. Upon the conclusion of the peace of Antalcidas ^d, the Platæans again returned to their old habits, and desired to submit themselves entirely to their former protectors. For this purpose, they sent to Athens, to demand a garrison, to defend them against their ancient and natural enemies. The Athenians granted their request; but while their troops were marching to Platæa, they, as well as a great number of the Platæans, who had come forth to meet them, were surprised and defeated by the Thebans. These im-

^b Xenophon. Hellen.

^c See Wolfius's notes on this Oration, page 698. He acknowledges never to have read any account of the demolition of Platæa, which could give occasion to this discourse.

^d See Discourse on the History of Greece.

mediately

mediately attacked the city, which was soon compelled to surrender. The inhabitants were allowed to carry off their moveables, on promising never afterwards to set foot in Bœotia. The Thebans then demolished Plataea, and took possession of the territory annexed to it^e.

This event, which happened three hundred and seventy two years before Christ, obliged the Plataeans to take refuge in Athens. A whole people, driven from their habitations, bewail their calamities before the Athenian assembly. They describe the cruelty and injustice of the Thebans, their treachery to Athens, and to all Greece. They insist on their own bravery and honour, and the peculiar merit of their services on those very occasions, in which the Thebans had behaved most infamously. Nothing can be more affecting, than the picture which they give of the various indignities to which men of their sentiments and character were so undeservedly exposed, and of the new calamities which daily awaited them. The Athenians were not insensible to the distress of their friends. They received them, their wives and children, into the bosom of the city, and continued to treat them with the greatest humanity and kindness^f. The discourse was written about the 64th year of Isocrates's age.

^e Diodorus, p. 362.

^f Diod. Ibidem.

THE
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
WRITTEN
FOR THE PLATÆANS.

SENSIBLE, that of all men, Athenians! you have ever been the most ready both to defend the injured, and to reward your benefactors, we entreat that you would not allow us to fall victims to the cruelty of our enemies, who, since the conclusion of the general peace^s, have unjustly driven us from our country. On many former occasions, you have gloried in protecting the defenceless, and in relieving the oppressed. But no people were ever better entitled to your assistance than we are; for none have discovered a more constant attachment to Athens, or have met with more cruel treatment from the enemies of that state. In demanding assistance against these enemies, therefore, we require you not to expose yourselves to danger; but on the contrary, to display your humanity and justice, in the face of all Greece.

^s Peace of Antalcidas. See Discourse on the History of Greece.

If the Thebans were our only opponents, and, if they themselves pretended to justify what they alone have committed, we should speedily have an end of the debate. But so miserable is our situation, that with the money of which they have robbed us, they have purchased the protection of the ablest orators. These are more formidable adversaries, and against these we must speak at greater length.

But it is difficult, nay impossible, to do justice to the subject. For who can enumerate our calamities, or describe the unexampled cruelty of the Thebans? This, however, we must attempt, according to the best of our abilities; and in the time of profound peace, when all the other Greeks have acquired independence, and enjoy the full benefits of the public tranquillity, we alone, most miserable task! must solicit to obtain, not the same advantages with the rest, not liberty, but a more tolerable servitude. We intreat, therefore, Athenians! that you would listen to us with favour; for we should be of all men the most unfortunate, if you, who formerly bestowed freedom even on the Thebans, the inveterate foes of your republic, should refuse to *our* supplications what you voluntarily granted to *them*.

It is unnecessary to relate particulars, (for who is ignorant that the Thebans have expelled us from our territory, and levelled our city with the ground?) I shall endeavour only to expose the sophistry with which they are disguised. Our opponents assign, as a sufficient reason for their violence, our refusing to become their tributaries, and to unite in their association. We acknowledge this refusal. But is the punishment adequate to the offence? Ought we to have been compelled to unite with them contrary to our own inclinations? Or can any thing

thing be more insolent, than to avow that they destroyed our government, which we loved, because we refused to share in theirs, which we detested? Their conduct towards others has been unjust, but towards us barbarous. The Thespians and Tanagræans were no less averse than we were, to an association with the Thebans. These, however, obliged them to consent to it; but by means extremely different from those employed against us; which evidently shew, that they desired not our alliance, but the acquisition of our territory.

Yet I wonder by what examples, by what ancient titles, or upon what principles of equity, they can attempt to defend their proceedings. If we consider their hereditary rights, it belongs not to them to govern others; they ought to be tributaries of the Orchomenians, for such in fact they anciently were. If they rest the matter on late agreements, as it is reasonable they should do, have they not avowedly infringed them? For, according to the last treaty of peace, all the states of Greece ought to remain free and independent.

I am persuaded, however, there is no one so egregiously impudent, as to undertake their justification upon such principles. They have recourse, therefore, to another artifice, and pretend, that, because we assisted Lacedæmon, then at variance with Thebes and her allies, it became their duty to act, as they have done, for the interest of the whole confederacy. But there is surely no motive of interest sufficient to counterbalance solemn oaths and engagements; nor is it just, that of all the allies of the Lacedæmonians, we alone should be singled out for sacrifice. It was not from choice, but compulsion, that we became their auxiliaries. We never should have been
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so blind to every principle of common sense, as to prefer the men who purposed to reduce us into servitude, to those who offered us a share in their government. But it was impossible, feeble as we were, to resist so powerful a state, which had a garrison in our city, and a numerous army in our neighbourhood. Had we shown a disposition to revolt, this army might have punished us as severely as the Thebans have done, and with far more justice. These, after the conclusion of a peace, ought to have laid aside their resentment: But the Lacedæmonians, had we betrayed them in time of war, would have had good reason to chastise us.

You need not be told, Athenians! that many who openly espoused their cause were secretly your friends. What means then may such men pursue, when they understand that you are persuaded by the Thebans, to treat with equal severity all who gave assistance to Lacedæmon. This is the point in question; nothing can take place with regard to us, which does not equally affect the rest. Consider, we entreat you, the consequences of this conclusion, and permit not the insolence of the Thebans, to compel such as formerly hated the government of Lacedæmon, now to court its protection. The last war which you undertook was not to acquire liberty for yourselves or your allies, for both of you were free; but it was to procure independence for these who, in opposition to the treaty, had been unjustly deprived of this advantage. Those, therefore, whom you formerly relieved from the Lacedæmonian yoke, will you now subject to the Thebans? The Thebans, who are so far from imitating your humanity, that it is better to be your prisoners of war, than neighbours to them. The cities which you took by storm, were delivered from foreign garrisons and governors: They

now enjoy assemblies and liberty. But the people in the neighbourhood of Thebes are either already slaves, or must soon become so.

They accuse the Lacedæmonians of seizing the Cadmæa, of placing garrisons in their city. But instead of garrisoning the cities in their own neighbourhood, they demolished them, and yet presume to justify their conduct. They even proceed to such a pitch of insolence, as to imagine, that while they are employed in enslaving Greece, the Greeks will be the guardians of their security. Who must not detest their ambition? They aspire to equal honours with the greatest states, while they tyrannise over the weaker; they envy you for the territory ceded by the Oropians, while they divide among themselves the lands of their neighbours; and, to complete the sum of their crimes, pretend only to be actuated by an attachment to their allies.

But as *your* state is at the head of the alliance, it was their duty to be determined by this assembly, as to the measures which were proper to be pursued; and not, after they had acted without your concurrence, to come hither to seduce your approbation. Their crimes were peculiar to themselves; they alone have reaped the fruits of them; and they condescend to share the guilt and the reproach in common with the whole confederacy. Yet if you hearken to our advice, you will avoid the snare they have laid, and, instead of being persuaded to become accomplices in the injustice of the Thebans, compel them to imitate your integrity and candour. It is during war only, that men of a generous character attempt, by every possible method, to humble their op-

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ponents. When peace is concluded, no motive of interest can persuade them unjustly to infringe it. But the Thebans, though in all their embassies during the war they talked of equality, independence, and the right belonging to every state to govern itself by its own laws, had no sooner obtained a peace, than, forgetting all their former declarations, they sought only the gratification of their own rapacity and ambition. After having accomplished their fatal designs, they have the effrontery to assert, that it is for the interest of the whole confederacy, they should keep possession of Platæa, which they have acquired by injustice. Wretched sophistry! As if injustice could ever be attended with advantage!

Nor can they pretend with more reason, that while *they* would be highly grateful for the favours conferred on them, *we* should soon forget the recovery of our territory, and, deserting your alliance, revolt to the Lacedæmonians. Twice on account of our attachment to you, have we endured all the calamities of a siege, and on every occasion proved as faithful as they have been treacherous. I shall not mention examples of an old date, of which there are many. I shall confine myself to their treachery during the war of Corinth which their insolence occasioned. While the Lacedæmonians were ready to overpower them, they were saved by your assistance. What return did they make for this service? After the peace, they deserted you, and joined with Lacedæmon. The Chians, the Mitylenæans, and Byzantines, preserved their fidelity: The Thebans alone, possessed of such considerable power, but destitute of courage and honour, were intimidated to swear to their enemies, that they would
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accompany them against their protectors. The Gods punished their baseness; their citadel was taken, and hither were they obliged to fly for refuge. Once more saved by your arms, and restored to their country, they were again ready to abandon your friendship, and to become slaves to Lacedæmon: and, had not the Lacedæmonians, shocked with their treachery, disdained all connection with men so worthless and contemptible, they would have a second time assisted their inveterate enemies to invade the territory of their benefactors.

Such was their late conduct with regard to Athens in particular; but of old, they proved traitors to all Greece. Yet these men expect pardon for crimes voluntary and enormous, while they would allow us no quarter, for an offence which we were obliged to commit. Though bearing the name of Thebans, they dare to accuse others of acting for the Lacedæmonians; they who were so long slaves to Lacedæmon, and who have ever fought with more readiness for the Spartan tyranny, than for their own independence. When was there an expedition undertaken against your country, in which they were not concerned? Where have you found enemies more inveterate and unrelenting? In the war of Decelia, did they not occasion to you more distress, than all the rest who were engaged in the invasion? In the midst of your misfortunes, were they not the only state who voted to enslave you, to desolate your territory, and to render it a pasture-ground, like the plain of Chirisæa? So that if the Lacedæmonians had been of the same sentiments with the Thebans, you, who had acquired liberty for all Greece, would have been enslaved or extirpated by the Greeks. What favour then can they ever confer on you, sufficient to remove your resentment?

Their advocates, however, have still one argument to urge : If you cast off Bœotia from your confederacy, you will throw too great a weight into that of the Lacedæmonians, and thereby distress your allies. But it can never be of advantage to the allies, that the strong should oppress the weak, for this is what they have already fought, by many wars, to prevent; nor is it probable, that the Thebans are arrived at such a degree of madness, as to forsake your alliance and join with the Lacedæmonians. I do not form my opinion on any confidence in their honour, but because they are sensible that they have only one choice, after deserting you; either to remain in their city and perish, suffering the same calamities that they themselves have inflicted, or fly into exile, where they can neither find immediate security, nor entertain the least hopes of ever returning to their country! For, where can they expect protection? From whence can they hope for deliverance? They have put to death many of their fellow citizens, and have driven others from their country, after plundering their effects. Are they on more friendly terms with the rest of the Bœotians? They have not only irritated them by attempting to reduce them into slavery, but some they have deprived of their territories, and the cities of others they have demolished. Nor can they longer expect mercy from you, whom their continual treacheries must at length have rendered inexorable. There is not the smallest danger then, that, for the sake of becoming masters of Platæa, they should expose themselves to inevitable destruction; For, though incapable of affection or gratitude, they must remain attached to you from fear.

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They gave a sufficient proof of their character in the affair of the Oropians. By this you may have learned how to deal with them. While they believed themselves at liberty to pursue their own measures, they acted more like enemies than allies; but when, on this account, you had cast them out from your confederacy, they soon altered their behaviour, and appeared before you with more humility than even we do at present. It is in vain, therefore, that their orators attempt to raise an alarm, by pretending, that they would desert your alliance. The necessity of their affairs renders it more eligible for them to remain even your subjects, than to become confederates of Lacedæmon.

But were it otherwise, you ought not surely to prefer the interest of the Theban state to your own reputation and honour. It is agreeable to the sentiments which animated your ancestors, not to dread danger, but disgrace. In the wars of Greece, success seldom accompanies those who are guilty of violence and outrage. It generally attends those who, by moderation and justice, have acquired the public confidence and esteem. Of this there are many ancient examples. In our own times, the Lacedæmonians, destitute of naval strength, but supported by the good opinion of Greece, overcame your force, which was then deemed irresistible. You, again, after being reduced to extremities from which it seemed impossible to recover, collected the last remains of your strength, fought with justice on your side, and subverted their empire. That the king of Persia was not the cause of this revolution, is evident from what followed. In the late war, while the affairs of Asia were in such disorder, that he could give no attention to Greece, you, though reduced to the
same

same distress as before, yet obtained such advantages over the Lacedæmonians, who had enslaved the greatest part of Greece, as obliged them to embrace the first overtures of peace. Let nothing then be deemed dangerous while you have justice on your side; nor hesitate to assist the injured Platæans, rather than the injurious Thebans. By opposing them, you will make your friendship universally desired: For, who would prefer the tyrants of Greece to those who act as its deliverers! But, if you neglect this occasion of displaying your virtue, what arguments can you afterwards employ, to engage the inferior states to unite with you in time of war, when in peace you abandon and betray them? Must not your present conduct appear extremely inconsistent with your past, if you now permit the Thebans to infringe with impunity those engagements, which you compelled the Lacedæmonians by force of arms to perform? and if, after you ceded part of your own territory, that, by confirming the attachment of your allies, you might carry on the war with more success against your common enemy, you now allow the Thebans to seize unjustly the possessions of their neighbours, and to exert an authority over the states of Greece, which places you in a point of view so inferior to that in which you before appeared.

The Thebans, though warmly attached to Lacedæmon, yet have never failed to experience your assistance, when oppressed by the Lacedæmonians. What then can be more unreasonable than to deny it to us, who, except in the late war, in which we acted by compulsion, have ever been your allies? Can so frivolous a pretence render you insensible to our calamities, which are surely unexampled? Deprived, in one day, of our
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city, our lands, our fortunes, and every means of subsistence; in these unhappy circumstances we wander over Greece, destitute of hope of resource, and ignorant on which side to turn for relief. Every object we meet, redoubles our distress. If we fly to the wretched for refuge, we are at once overwhelmed with their misfortunes and our own. If we have recourse to the prosperous, their happiness, without exciting envy, only renders our own calamities more acute. Scarcely a day passes without tears. For alas! how can we behold without emotion our parents, already worn out by years, fall the victims of dishonour; our children, so liberally educated and destined to manly employments, subjected to the meanest offices in life, exposing their liberty to the best purchaser, and all of us compelled to sacrifice to a miserable existence, the glory of our ancestors, and our own sentiments and virtues! Fellow-citizens are obliged to abandon one another; and cruel necessity tears the wife from the husband, plucks the child from the bosom of the mother, and alike dissolves the ties of nature and society. No one can extend his care beyond the security of his own person, and the preservation of life takes place of every other concern.

Banishment and poverty subject us to other disgraces, still more ignominious than those I have mentioned, and which we feel with peculiar sensibility, but which we are ashamed to express. You will represent them, however, to your own minds—it concerns your honour to remove them. We are not to be considered as strangers. By sentiment, we are all united; the greatest part of us by blood. Our fathers, availing themselves of the rights which you bestowed, married the women of Athens, from whom we are descended.

It is impossible, then, that you can abandon your posterity, and after giving us a share in *your* country, suffer us to be driven from our own. The Athenians, who are distinguished for humanity, and who feel for the misfortunes of individuals, have they no pity for a whole state involved in the utmost misery; a state too, which solicits their protection, and which has the best reason to obtain it?

The office of relieving the distressed, you have already found to be attended with no small glory. Your ancestors, by giving assistance to the Argives¹, and compelling the Thebans to permit the burial of those who were slain at the Cadmæa, not only acquired for themselves the esteem and admiration of the age in which they lived, but transmitted immortal glory to their descendants. This glory you betray, by abandoning us; for whenever you become wanting in humanity, the actions of your forefathers will tend to your disgrace.

Besides, our petitions are better founded than those of the Argives. They appeared as supplicants, after marching forth to attack their neighbours; we intreat your protection, for a country invaded and ravaged. They desired the burial of the dead, we beg you to save the living. And there is surely no small difference between depriving the dead of a funeral, and expelling the living from their country. The former injury redounds only to the shame of those who inflict it; but the being driven from our country, obliged to wander without refuge, to suffer new indignities daily, and to behold our dearest connexions involved in the same calamities, without being able to

¹ See page 83.

WRITTEN FOR THE PLATÆANS. 313

relieve them, how much do these misfortunes exceed all others? Yet it is impossible for us to escape them, unless you restore us to our country. Let the aged reflect, how hard it is, that men loaded with years, should be deprived of the first necessities of life. Let the youth consider, the misery of those who are of the same generous age with themselves, and the merit in delivering them from still greater evils than we have ventured to express.

You owe to us alone, of all the Greeks, this return of favour, to raise our state from its ruins. When the Athenians had fled from their country during the Persian invasion, our ancestors were the only people without Peloponnesus, who became sharers in their fortune, and assisted them to re-establish their government. We only solicit therefore, the same favour which we have before conferred.

But though you were determined to have no regard for our persons, yet you ought not to suffer a country to be desolated, which contains the noblest monuments of your bravery. In other territories, we find the trophies which one state has erected over another; but in ours, are those monuments of valour, which you, with your allies, erected in honour of all Greece, over the united force of Asia. These the Thebans would be glad to erase, because they remain to their disgrace; but it becomes you to preserve them, for they rendered you the leaders of Greece. Recal to mind, the Gods and heroes who protected this territory; suffer not *their* honours to be obliterated—they were propitious to you in that day, on which you saved your country. Nor forget the piety due to your ancestors. If those of them who conquered in Plataea, have any perception of what passes in it at present, what must be

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their sentiments, if, while you hold the balance of Greece in your hands, the Thebans, who were then ready to bear the Persian yoke, be now permitted to reduce their neighbours into subjection? And we, who then fought in defence of the general liberty, be the only state which is utterly subverted? Suffer not those illustrious men to be deprived of customary rites, for want of such as may perform them; nor permit the Thebans, whose conduct was so opposite, and so disgraceful, to keep possession of that country in which they are interred. Your principal accusation against the Lacedæmonians was, that, in order to gratify the Thebans, who had betrayed Greece, they had injured you who had preserved it. Beware of exposing yourselves to a similar charge; nor prefer the reproaches with which all men will then load you, to your present reputation and glory. Many other considerations might be urged, to persuade you to undertake our defence. But these will occur to yourselves. Recal them to your minds, recal chiefly your oaths and agreements, the hatred of the Thebans, our perpetual friendship; and decree with regard to your unhappy allies, what may appear most equitable.

THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS
UPON
A Proposal for dissolving the Ancient Government of
ATHENS.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS Oration is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus^a, as an example of the excellence of Lysias, in the deliberative kind of eloquence. Dionysius also gives an account of the subject of it, in the following words: "After the Athenian exiles had returned from the Pireum, they passed a decree, for obliterating the memory of all past offences. But being afraid, lest the multitude, having now attained their ancient power, might behave with their usual licentiousness towards the rich, they entered into a warm debate upon the means of preventing this disorder. Among other proposals made by the different speakers on this important occasion, a citizen called Phormisius, who had returned with the exiles from the Pireum, and who, *on this account, probably, possessed no small influence in the assembly*, contended that all persons, poor or rich, should be permitted to remain in Athens; but that the proprietors of land only should be admitted to a share in the government. Such was the opinion of the Lacedæmonian agents, who at that time disturbed by their intrigues the councils of every state in Greece. Had this proposal passed into a law, five thousand persons must have been entirely excluded from the management of public affairs. To prevent so dangerous an innovation, Lysias wrote the following discourse, for some person of high distinction, and great credit with the public."

^a Dionys. Halicarn. in Lysia.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIA S,
UPON

A Proposal for dissolving the Ancient Government of
ATHENS.

AFTER your past misfortunes, Athenians! should have taught you the danger of trying new experiments in government, the authors of this proposal would involve you in the same calamities as before. I wonder not at their audaciousness (for though they shared in the fortune of your deliverers, they have always maintained the same principles with your tyrants), but I wonder at your patience in permitting it. Why did you return from banishment, if you be determined to enslave yourselves by your own decrees! As to myself, Athenians! though neither destitute of rank nor of fortune, but in both, superior to my opponents, I hold it to be the best security for the state, that all have an equal share in the government. When formerly we built walls, acquired a fleet, money, and allies, we regarded not these advantages as obtained only for ourselves, but we shared them with the Eubeans, by establishing the right of intermarriage. Such were once our principles;

principles; by bestowing on strangers the honours of our country, we rendered them our friends; and, shall we now by degrading our fellow-citizens render them our enemies? Never let this take place: Nor after you have been deprived by the fortune of war, of every other defence, abandon, through wilful neglect, your soldiers, your horsemen, and your archers, the support of this state, the terror of its enemies, and the hopes of your allies. You well know, that, during the oligarchy, many owners of land were deprived of their property, many banished, and many put to death. But the people had no sooner returned, than they reinstated every one of you in your possessions. Employ not, therefore, your present power for the destruction of your benefactors, regard not words as more to be depended on than actions, or the future as more certain than the past. Experience may teach you, that the proposal which we are now considering, though seemingly disadvantageous to the populace only, would, if embraced, be equally hurtful to you all. You would, as before, be driven from your lands, as soon as you had alienated the affections of those who alone can enable you to defend them.

It is asked, how the state can be saved if we obey not the Lacedæmonians? I ask, how our citizens can be saved if we obey them? If not, it is better they should die with arms in their hands, than perish by their own decrees. In the first case, the danger on both sides will be equal; and we shall imitate the Argives and Mantineans, of whom the one border on the Lacedæmonians, and the other live at no great distance from them. The Argives are not more numerous than we are, and the Mantineans scarcely amount to three thousand. Yet both have taught the Lacedæmonians, that as often as they

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make incursions into their country, they will be opposed by an armed force ; and this experience makes them regard it as a contest neither honourable nor advantageous, in which, though successful, they will only subdue neighbours from whom they had nothing to fear, but if unfortunate, must lose their present advantages and manifest superiority. The more secure, therefore, their situation is, the less are they disposed to endanger it. This was our own system when we were masters of Greece : We allowed a small part of our territory to be laid waste, rather than engage in a quarrel in order to defend it ; and actuated by great motives only, we lost sight of inconsiderable objects. But the war has now deprived us of our extensive dominions ; our country alone is left us ; this must now be the object of contention, and to this our whole hopes and fears are confined. Remembering, therefore, that we have ever protected the injured, and raised many monuments to our glory in the country of our neighbours, let us not abandon our own,—but be confident, that the Gods will maintain the cause of the just. It would be unaccountable, Athenians ! if, after fighting against Lacedæmon, in order to return to our country, we should now throw ourselves into banishment ^b, rather than meet our enemies in the field : and would it not be most shameful, that we, whose ancestors exposed their lives for the general liberty of Greece, should be unwilling to die for our own ?

^b Lyfias considers the decree, by which a part of the citizens would have been deprived of a share in the government, as equal to banishment from their country.

THE ANCIENT CONSTITUTION OF A CHURCH

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THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS,
IN

Defence of a CITIZEN, accused of receiving a Bribe
from the Enemy.

2

INTRODUCTION.

THE defendant, in this trial, had long commanded an armed vessel, which he had fitted out at his own expence. This was a common practice at Athens, where the navy was chiefly composed of ships manned and furnished at the cost of the richer citizens, named for that purpose by the people. They were called Trierarchs, which signifies commanders of gallies; and these commanders might either personally embark and take the management of the vessel upon themselves, or commit it to another. The defendant having chosen the former, and as he proves in the following discourse, having exercised this employment with uncommon attention and signal success, was not so fortunate as to escape the ordinary fate of those who served the Athenian republic. He was accused of the infamous crime of receiving a bribe from the enemy.

The beginning of this discourse is now wanting; but it appears that the defendant had disproved the allegations of his accuser, and exculpated himself from every suspicion of the crime laid to his charge. The remainder, which he thought no less necessary to soothe the minds of his judges, and which is the only part of the pleadings that could interest us at this distance of time, is employed in laying open his whole life and behaviour. He submits to the candour of the Athenians, whether a man who had expended the greatest part of his fortune in their service, can be supposed capable of receiving a bribe given to induce

him to betray them: and he observes, that if it be desirable for those who have bestowed benefits, to be tried before such as have received them, he has reason to wish for no other judges than those of his own country. The stress which the speaker lays on his public character throughout, is indeed very remarkable. He makes use of it not only as an argument to shew the impossibility of his being guilty of receiving a bribe, but as a principal motive to persuade the judges to give sentence in his favour. "If you allow me," says he, "to retain my fortune, it will be employed as formerly. It will be laid out more advantageously for the state, than if it were thrown into the exchequer. For I am persuaded, it can hardly admit of a doubt, that I would manage it with more propriety than the funds of the public are at present administered." This mode of reasoning, however extraordinary it may appear in the present age, was familiar at Athens. There the public good was the object with which all others were continually compared, and by which their merit was estimated. It was the standard of right and wrong. It was the principle upon which the Athenians affected to act, not only in determining matters in which the general interest was concerned, but in deciding the most trivial disputes between individuals. This public good, however, to which they professed such attachment, was frequently abandoned by those to whom they had entrusted it; and when this was discovered to take place, the Athenians declaimed against the treachery or mismanagement of their magistrates, with a virulence of invective and indecency of reproach, hardly known in any country but our own.

The large sums which the defendant enumerates, as expended by him in the public service, are remarkable on account of the manner

manner of their application. The man, who had commanded a ship of war for seven years; who had saved not only his own vessel, but that of another captain, in a sea-fight, where the greatest part of the Athenian fleet had been destroyed; who had, on every other occasion, exerted himself against the enemies of his country with uncommon vigilance, activity, and good fortune; and who had done all this without putting his country to any expence, is not satisfied with mentioning these particulars in vindication of his public character; but insists, in a tone of higher triumph, on his magnificence, when appointed to take the lead in poms and processions, to assist at the Gymnastic exercises, to conduct the band of comedians, and to exhibit figured dances and other entertainments to the people. These, it seems, were the acts of generosity, for which he expected the greatest returns of favour.

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O R A T I O N
O F
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Defence of a CITIZEN, accused of receiving a Bribe
from the ENEMY.

IN answer to the charge itself, I have already, Athenians! sufficiently explained myself: But it is proper you should attend to what I am still going to observe, that you may be fully acquainted with my character, before you pass your decree. I had no sooner become of age, under the archonship of Theopompus, than being appointed to conduct your theatrical entertainments, I laid out upon them thirty minæ; three months afterwards, at the festival in honour of Apollo and Diana, I was declared conqueror in the company of men dancers, and expended on that occasion two thousand drachmas. Under the archonship of Glaucippus, I gave eight hundred drachmas towards defraying the expence of the military dance, at the great festival of Minerva. Under the same archonship, I was conqueror in the men's company at the celebration of the festival of Bacchus; and my expence at this time, including the dedication of a Tripod, amounted to five thousand drach-

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mas^d. Soon after, in the archonship of Diocles, I laid out three hundred drachmas, in preparing a circular dance for the little festival of Minerva. From this time I continued seven years commander of a galley^e, and expended in that office six talents of silver. Having thus served the republic with my fortune, I have not been more sparing of my person; I have often been sent abroad, and often exposed to danger. Yet with all this merit towards my country, and though employed every day in its service, I never refused any extraordinary contribution, but raised at one time thirty minæ, and at another, four thousand drachmas.

I had no sooner returned from sea, under the archonship of Alexius, than I presided over the gymnastic exercises in honour of Prometheus, and they cost me twelve minæ. The chorus of boys, on a later occasion, cost me above fifteen minæ. When appointed along with Cephisodorus, in the archonship of Euclides, to conduct your company of comedians, I made a present to the public of all the dress and apparatus, and my expence amounted to sixteen minæ; I expended seven more in the military dance of the boys, at the little festival of Minerva; in the race of ships at Sunium, where I came off conqueror, I expended fifteen minæ; not to mention

^d The Athenian money was counted by the obulus, mina, drachma, and talent. A talent is equal to 190 l. : A mina, the sixtieth part of a talent, makes in English money 3 l. 3 s. 4 d. : A drachma, of which there are an hundred contained in a mina, is nearly equal to 7½ d. : and an obulus, or the sixth part of a drachma, makes little more than a penny English.

^e The same word which is here translated Commander of a galley, is often used to denote him who was appointed to furnish the expence necessary for fitting out a galley. But the speaker, as it appears from what follows, had himself gone to sea, and personally commanded that ship, the expences of which he had been appointed to supply.

various sums laid out when manager of your sacred pomps and processions, and which, in all, might amount to above thirty minæ. With regard to the whole of these articles, had I satisfied myself with conforming exactly to the law, I needed not have laid out above a fourth of what I actually expended^f.

During the time I was Trierarch, my ship was the best sailer of all which then composed our navy. I can give you the strongest proofs of it. First of all, Alcibiades (who, I sincerely wish, had never accompanied me), though neither my friend, nor kinsman, nor neighbour, thought proper to embark in my ship; and it is evident, that he, who, as commander in chief, had his choice of the whole fleet, would naturally prefer the best sailing vessel, especially in so hazardous an expedition. When you had deprived him of the command, and sent in his stead Thrasyllus, with ten others, they contended who should have the advantage of sailing with me; and it was not till after much altercation, and many reproaches thrown out against one another, that they permitted me to take on board Archestratus, the Phrearian^g. When *he* died in Mitylene, Erasineides, another of the commanders, quitted the vessel in which he had at first embarked, and in the room of

^f Supposing that he had only laid out the fourth part, this must be regarded as a very large sum, if we consider the narrowness of the Athenian fortunes: nor is there any country in Europe, where the public burdens now fall so heavy on individuals, as they formerly did in Athens.

^g The word translated Reproaches, properly denotes any verbal injury accompanied with raillery. The generals sent to command the Athenian armies disputed with one another, who should embark in a ship that was reckoned a better sailer than the rest: they carry on this dispute by mutual injuries, raillery, and reproaches; how different were the manners, even in the most polished age of Greece, from those which prevail among the modern nations of Europe!

Archestratus, came on board of mine. And a galley, furnished in so superior a manner, what money must it have cost? What damages occasioned to the enemy? What advantages acquired to the state? Of this, there was a striking example in the last sea-engagement, in which many vessels were sunk or destroyed: There, though no general was on board, and while most of the other Trierarchs excited your resentment, by losing the vessels committed to them, I not only brought back my own ship, but saved that of Naufimachus the Phalerian. Nor was this particular success accidental, but the effect of care and preparation. I had all along retained, at a great expence, Phantias as my pilot, the most expert seaman in Greece; and I had provided rowers, and every thing else corresponding to the abilities of the pilot. That I say the truth, you may be informed by the soldiers who were on board. Call Naufimachus. *His testimony.* The ships, then, which were preserved, are in all twelve; and of these I brought back two, my own, and the galley of Naufimachus. Having exposed myself to so many dangers in your behalf, having undertaken so many expeditions for your safety, I ask not for what others have obtained, I demand neither honours nor rewards; I only entreat, that you will not deprive me of the remainder of that fortune, of which the greatest part has been expended in the public service; nor commit an injustice, which must redound more to your own disadvantage than to mine. For, it is not the loss of my fortune that gives me the greatest concern, but the infamy and disgrace with which that loss is attended. These indeed are intolerable, nor can I endure to be cited as an example of your ingratitude, to be insulted by those who have long abandoned the interests of their country, and to have the misfortunes

tunes of a man who has bestowed so much in the public service, mentioned as an encouragement to the avaricious and selfish to persist in their present worthless behaviour. But if you allow yourselves, Athenians! to yield to my entreaties, you will pass a decree not more consistent with justice than with your own interest. For you need not be informed, that the revenues of the state are always inconsiderable, and suffer greatly, at present, by the rapacity of those who govern them; and that the surest revenue is the public spirit of those who are willing to expend their fortune in the service of their country. If you behave, therefore, with ordinary discretion, you will not be less watchful of my property than of your own; persuaded, that whatever I am allowed to preserve, I will employ as formerly. And you need no arguments to convince you, that I will employ it with more wisdom, than those who are now at the head of the treasury would do, if it were thrown into the exchequer. But if you reduce me to beggary, you will in a certain degree share in my calamity; my fortune will fall into other hands; you will no longer derive any advantage from it; this part will be managed with no greater discretion, than the rest of the public funds are administered. Nor is it undeserving your present consideration, that, if I were to be treated with exact justice, I have greater reason to expect that I should be maintained out of the public money, than that my own should be endangered: My circumstances, if distressed, would entitle me to your compassion; but my prosperity, which has always been employed to promote the public good, ought never to excite your envy. You ought rather to pray to the Gods, that you may have many such citizens, who, instead of coveting the wealth of others, usefully distribute their
own,

own, to supply the necessities of their fellow-citizens. It is my opinion, Athenians! and let no one take offence, that were the whole of this matter submitted to an impartial decision, you would be all found more indebted to me than I am to the state. I have not been more frugal as a man, than generous as a citizen; not valuing myself on what I retained, but on what I bestowed; regarding this as my own deed, and my wealth as the gift of fortune; and considering, that while the former only exposes me to the accusations of my enemies, the latter gives me a title to your protection and regard. There is no occasion for any one to intercede with you in my behalf, but were my friend in danger, you ought to spare him at my entreaty; or, were I to be tried before another tribunal, you yourselves ought to plead for me. For no one can pretend to say, that I have ever reaped the smallest benefit from any office with which I was entrusted, that I have ever been guilty of any base action, that I have sought to injure individuals, or continued an indifferent or useless spectator in the time of general calamity. My conduct, whether public or private, I am confident, has been such as, you all know, requires no defence. I entreat you then, to have the same opinion of me as formerly; reflect not only on my public employments, but on my private behaviour, and consider that this is the employment of all the most honourable and laborious, to live during a course of many years with moderation and propriety, neither conquered by pleasure, nor enslaved by gain, but exhibiting such a character as none, until this shameless slanderer appeared, has ever dared to accuse. And it would be most unworthy of you, O judges! to listen to the calumnies of those who only seek to divert the public indignation from being directed

directed against their own impiety and guilt^b, by bringing innocent men into danger, and who, though the effeminate^c Cinesias has fought more battles, and been engaged in more expeditions, have the impudence to pretend anxiety about the public safety. But you may be assured, this is no part of their concern; their only object is, to excite your resentment against the persons who have deserved your gratitude. Let them lay open to the people their own lives and transactions; I could not wish them a greater calamity. But I entreat, supplicate, and implore you, not to condemn me for bribery; nor allow yourselves to be persuaded, that for all the wealth upon earth, I would be the occasion of any evil to the state. I should be a madman, indeed, Athenians! if, after spending my paternal fortune to gain your favour, I were to receive a bribe to betray you. And surely, if it be desirable for those who have bestowed benefits to be tried before such as have received them, I have reason to wish for no other judges than you. Remember likewise (for I wish this to be impressed upon your memory), that when I had any public office to perform, I never reflected whether my children would be the poorer for it; I only considered how I might best shew my readiness in executing your commands; and when going to engage in a sea-fight, I never melted into pity, or shed tears, on recalling to memory my wife or children. I regarded it not as a great misfortune, if, dying in defence of my country, I left them destitute—it appeared to be a far greater, if, being saved with dishonour,

^b An action, it seems, had been brought against the accuser for impiety, to obliterate the memory of which, it is said, that he became an accuser in his turn.

^c Cinesias, a person noted for effeminacy, even to a proverb, mentioned also by Aristophanes.

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I should heap infamy on myself and them. In return for this behaviour, and because, even in the midst of danger, I displayed these sentiments for you, I require that you, while at home and in safety, afford protection to me and my children. Consider, that it will be no less cruel to us than disgraceful to you, if we be rendered infamous by unjust accusations, deprived of our fortune, sent to wander in wretchedness and want, suffering all this by a decision, as unworthy of you, as of our own merit towards the republic.—By no means, O judges! But acquitting us by your decree, employ us, as before, for the benefit of our country.

THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS
AGAINST
EVANDER,

A Candidate for the Office of High-Priest.

INTRODUCTION.

THE office of High-Priest was exercised at Athens, by one of the nine archons, or chief magistrates of the republic. Among the ancients, the priesthood was not supposed to require any particular education; and every citizen, whose wealth or profession raised him above the necessity of applying to such arts as were marked with public contempt, and whose life was irreproachable, might aspire at being admitted into this sacred order. The talents which the exercise of the sacerdotal office required, were not considerable, nor was the occupation laborious. Aristotle, having divided the employments of the free citizens in Greece into the civil and military, regards the administration of religious rites as a branch of the former; and thinks, that, as the youth ought to be employed in war, as the middle aged, who enjoy the full vigour and maturity of judgment, ought to be entrusted with the management of civil affairs; so those who have arrived at the verge of life, and who have lost their former strength and activity, ought to embrace the religious profession, and spend the remainder of their days in the worship of the Gods^k.

But though the priesthood, in general, seems not to have been regarded as a profession of the first consequence in the state, the high priest, or king, (so the Athenians called him, because his office formerly made a branch of the kingly power) was

^k Aristot. Polit. Book VII. chap. 9.

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entrusted with the most important concerns. Director in all religious solemnities, which related to the state in general, judge in all disputes between persons of a sacred character, he also tried those of every rank and condition, who were accused of impiety, or any profanation of the temples, mysteries, and other sacred things. It likewise belonged to his office, to take cognizance of murder, and in conjunction with the senators of the Areopagus, in which tribunal he had the right of suffrage, finally to pass sentence upon such as had been found guilty of this crime ^m.

Though the first magistrates in Athens were appointed by lot, yet none were admitted to make trial of their good fortune without undergoing an exact examination, and being declared worthy of the dignity which chance might confer on them. Upon this ground, Lysias attacks Evander. He affirms, that a man whose principles were most opposite to the spirit of the popular government, ought not to be entrusted with power over the lives of his fellow-citizens. During the usurpation of the thirty tyrants, Evander, he says, was accessory to all their violence and cruelty; and shall *he* be appointed to the guardianship of orphans, (which was part of the duty of the high priest,) *he* who deprived them of their fathers?

The original is very incorrect, and many sentences are wanting, not only in the beginning, but in different parts of the discourse. Mutilated, however, as this oration is, it serves to throw light on the history of the times; and to make us acquainted with several important facts and customs, which are nowhere else described.

^m Demosth. in Lacritum et in Neaream.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIA S,
AGAINST
EVANDER,

A Candidate for the Office of High-Priest.

SUCH then are your hopes. Though conscious of committing many injuries against this people; you are confident, that length of time will have obliterated them from their remembrance. This, however, is a rash conclusion; and it deserves equal indignation and contempt, when it is considered that the very persons whom you injured, are now your judges. But, Athenians! it is your own conduct, that affords the only ground for such presumptuous expectations. Without reflecting, that certain persons, after they had betrayed the city to the Lacedæmonians, would not even allow you to remain in it, and unwilling to communicate with you the mean advantages, of sharing in a servitude to which they themselves had submitted, drove you by violence from your country; you now permit the very persons who treated you with such indignity,

nity, not only to partake of the liberty which you so gloriously regained, but even to judge in your senates, and to deliberate in your assemblies. It is this weakness of yours which inspires your enemies with the most audacious designs. Such is this Evander, who, not contented with being allowed to enjoy the advantages of the common liberty which he had no hand in procuring, aspires to an office of the first dignity, without having undergone an examination for the crimes of his past life. He intends, we hear, to answer the charge in a few words, passing slightly over what he is accused of, and endeavouring to deceive you by a defence noways adapted to his situation. He will tell you, what sums his ancestors expended for the public good, with what magnificence they executed every office with which they were entrusted, and in how many honourable competitions they engaged during the time of the democracy. As to himself, he will pretend, that being a man of great moderation, he carefully avoids being concerned in any thing that might give offence, and, solely attentive to the management of his own affairs, has neither leisure nor inclination to interfere in those of his neighbours.

I imagine, however, that it is not difficult to shew the weakness of this defence. As to the public offices, to which his father was appointed, it were better that he had never undertaken them, or that he had executed them with less magnificence. By these he seduced the people, and overturned the democracy; the consequences of which will be remembered, when his costly entertainments are forgotten. With regard to his own moderation, it is not now the time to boast of it, because, at present, he dares not be guilty of injustice. But examine his life at that period when the two roads were open before him, and
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when he could exhibit his character without fear, and you will find his behaviour to have then been most violent and outrageous. His present conduct, therefore, being the effect of necessity, ought not to be regarded; what he then performed was the result of free choice, and fully discovers his principles. Be not then deceived by such pitiful artifices.

But if, laying hold of another foolish pretence, he endeavours to persuade you, that the time admits not that any other high-priest should be appointed, unless you would neglect the ancient rites of your country, the reply to this also is obvious, that the time is already past; for to-morrow is the last day of the year, and on it sacrifices should be performed to Jupiter the saviour; before to-morrow, it is impossible the judges should be appointed, and he himself undergo his second probation^a. If Evander has been the occasion of these informalities before entering on his magistracy, what must you expect from him in the course of it? Will he be guilty of few violations of the law? For my part, I do not think so. Consider, therefore, whether it may not be more expedient, that the present magistrate be continued in his office, which many precedents will justify, than that this man, who is not even of pure hands, should preside in the sacrifices of his country. Consider, whether your oaths permit you to appoint him before examination; or, whether you have not sworn, that no one should be crowned^o, before he has been declared by the inquest, really deserving.

^a The first probation was in the senate of the Five Hundred; the second by a certain number of persons, chosen by lot for this purpose.

^o The crown was one of the badges of his office, which he was only obliged to lay aside when he voted in the Areopagus.

ing of this honour. Reflect also, that the laws relative to probation were particularly established on account of those who were in office during the oligarchy. The legislature thought it unreasonable, that the same men who had subverted the republic, should be again advanced to power, and invested with that authority, which they had formerly so egregiously abused. We must not then despise these laws, or regard them as matters of little moment; for on the probation of the magistrates, our constitution and safety depends.

Had he offered himself a candidate for the senate, while it appeared from the public registers that he had served in the cavalry during the government of the thirty tyrants, you would have rejected him without any formal accusation. And now, when it is proved, that he not only served in the cavalry, but materially injured the people, will it not be absurd to shew him more favour; especially, since the office of senator, shared in common with five hundred persons, affords much less opportunity of doing wrong, than that to which he at present aspires? For he solicits an employment, that confers great power on himself alone, and which, in conjunction with the court of the Areopagus, renders him, in future, judge in the most important affairs. The examination for this office ought surely to be more accurate and severe, than for any other in the state. How will the citizens be affected, when they perceive that man who should be punished for his own crimes, chastising the offences of others; or him who deserves to be deprived of his own life, deciding on the lives of his fellow-citizens; or him entrusted with the guardianship of your pupils and orphans, who has himself deprived them of their fathers? Must they not be
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more sensible to these indignities, because they proceed from you, who will thus prove yourselves to have been accessory to the injustice and cruelty of those whom you not only protect but distinguish; though they cast the citizens into prison, condemned them without a hearing, and compelled them to fly from their country.

If, at the instigation of Thrasybulus, you reject Laodamus and approve Evander, you will subject yourselves to the severest censure. These persons stand in the same situation, and are equally guilty with regard to the public; you appeared to reject the former from a resentment of his crimes; but, by approving the latter, you show that this was not the real principle of your conduct. While the candidates, therefore, would justify themselves to you, it is your business to justify yourselves to your fellow-citizens. Nor let it be imagined, that I accuse Evander for the sake of Laodamus. It is for your sake that I accuse him. By electing him into this office, you give him a fair opportunity to expose you; and you prove, even by your own conduct, that you are not unwilling to exalt into places of the first dignity, the inveterate enemies of the popular form of government.

But I am informed, he will pretend, that, being included in the agreement between those who came from the Pireum, and those who remained in the city, he ought not to be called to an account for what is past. I will reply to this in a few words, for the sake of the people. They by no means entertain the same opinion of all who remained in the city. They think of those who acted like Evander, as, I say, they ought; of the rest they have a very different opinion. They have honoured them

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no less than those who returned ; and with good reason ; for they had the strongest proofs of their virtue, under both the oligarchy and democracy. So opposite was the behaviour of the one party who remained in the city from that of the other, that while the one endeavoured to seize you in order that you might be put to death, the other favoured your escape ; and had not this been the case, there would have been neither banishment nor return, nor any of those revolutions which happened in the state. It was by the merit of such as remained in the city, and continued attached to its interest, that the few who returned from the Pireum, were enabled to overcome their enemies. They chose rather to expose their lives in defence of the democracy, than continue slaves to the Thirty and the Lacedæmonians. In return for this, you have distinguished them with public honours, and appointed them generals and ambassadors, and of this you have hitherto had no occasion to repent. But on account of such as maintained an opposite conduct, you have ordered examinations and trials ; and the agreement entered into for the sake of their opponents, by no means applies to them.

It is worth while to consider, in this probation of Evander, whether you ought to have most confidence in me, or in Thra-sybulus, who is prepared to defend him. It cannot be objected to me, that either myself, my father, or my ancestors, have shewn any hatred against the people. I had no share in the oligarchy, for I was not then of age ; and my father died commander in Sicily, long before our late disturbances. Nor did any of my ancestors favour the tyrants. They lived at perpetual variance with them. It cannot be alleged, that we increased our fortune by the war, or that we spared any expence in
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the public cause. The contrary is well known; before the war, my father possessed no less than eighty talents^p, which has been all exhausted in the service of the state. But I have three accusations against Thrasylbulus, each of which deserves death: He changed the government of the Bœotians, and alienated them from our friendship for a bribe; he betrayed our fleet, by which he endangered the very existence of the state; he defrauded his prisoners of thirty minæ, declaring, he would not ransom them but on condition of their giving him this sum; which having received, he still kept them in confinement.

Being now acquainted with the manners of both accuser and defendant, you will be enabled to decide this cause with more justice and propriety.

^p Above fifteen thousand pounds.

AGAINST STANDARDS

It is the duty of the State to maintain a high standard of living for its people. This can be accomplished by the State's policy of maintaining a high standard of living for its people.

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THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIA S,

TO PROVE,

That PHILO is unworthy of being a Member of the
SENATE.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the contests between the thirty tyrants, and the citizens whom they had banished, Philo, an Athenian of rank and fortune, had united with neither of the contending parties; but flying to Oropus, lived there in a private station, regardless of the calamities of his country. Upon the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, he returned to Athens, and stood candidate for being a member of the senate. None could be appointed to a station of such dignity and importance, without first undergoing what was called a *probation*; that is, without submitting his whole life and actions to the examination of his country. This was performed in the senate, and if any citizen could there prove a charge against the candidate, which rendered him unworthy of the dignity to which he aspired, this was sufficient to make him be set aside. Upon such a ground the orator attacks Philo; he proves, that he deserted his country in the time of its distress, and is therefore unworthy of being a magistrate in that state, the interests of which, he, while a private citizen, had abandoned. He mentions other crimes committed by Philo, which ought to disqualify him from every public office attended with either profit or honour.

But it is remarkable, that he does not once plead the law of Solon, preserved by Aulus Gellius^a. The law is this, "If, through discord and dissention, sedition or insurrection should rend the people into two parties, so that, with exasperated minds, they take arms and fight against each other, let

^a Book II. chap. 12.

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him who on such an occasion shall not unite with either of the contending parties, but endeavour to retire and separate himself from the evils fallen on his country, lose houses and estate, and be sent out an exile."

This law has been justified by Plutarch, as well as by many modern writers, upon political reasons. It has been said, that the most turbulent, as well as the most inexperienced, are ever the readiest to step forth, and to appear on the public theatre in times of sedition and calamity, while men of judgment and moderation keep aloof from such distressing scenes, and reserve themselves for happier occasions. The law, therefore, which obliges the latter to choose a side, must be well calculated to effect a speedy accommodation, and, instead of endangering the public peace, must tend to support it.

It seems evident, however, from the following oration of Lysias, that these reflections, so far from occurring to Solon, were even unknown to the Athenians in the most improved period of their society. They deemed the man who was unwilling to fight for his country, unworthy to inhabit it; and this consideration, founded altogether on sentiment, made them feel a real resentment, independent of distant views of utility, against those who remained neuter in times of public disturbance and sedition.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS,

TO PROVE,

That PHILO is unworthy of being a Member of the
SENATE.

I COULD never have imagined, O Senators! that Philo would have proceeded to this last pitch of insolence, and come hither to submit his whole life to the examination of those persons who are well acquainted with his crimes, and who have just reason to resent them. But *his* matchless effrontery shall not divert *me* from my purpose; for I came into this tribunal, after taking an oath to propose the best advice to my country*, which binds me to detect the villany of that man, who should seek undeservedly to intrude himself into the senate. This is the ground of my accusation against Philo; and my motives to undertake it proceed neither from the resentment of any

* All the members of every Athenian court or tribunal took an oath to listen to the parties with candour, and to consult only the interests of their country. The speaker against Philo was a member of the court. Isocrates says, that this oath was administered once a year. Isocrates de Antidof.

private wrongs, nor from the vanity of displaying my eloquence before your assembly; but from the whole tenor of the candidate's life, the profligacy of which I am on this occasion obliged by oath to expose. My knowledge of his character, indeed, is too partial and incomplete, to permit me to give a full description of it; but his crimes have been so great and so numerous, that it is easy to prove him unworthy of the dignity to which he now aspires. I entreat, however, that such as are more fully acquainted with him, may supply the defects of my discourse; for you are by no means to judge of the whole extent of his wickedness, by what I am going to relate.

I aver, then, that those only are worthy of admission into the senate, who, besides being actually *citizens*, above all things cherish that character. To these alone it makes a material difference, that the state enjoy prosperity or adversity; and they think themselves equally bound to share in its good or bad fortune. But as to those who, though, by nature, citizens, are aliens by sentiment, alike regarding all places in which they find the conveniencies of life, and considering their native country as a source of subsistence, not as an object of affection, it is evident, that they will always be ready to sacrifice every motive of public good, to private satisfaction and pleasure. Such are the principles of Philo: He abandoned the public interest in order to secure his own; and while his fellow-citizens exposed their lives for the common liberty, he provided for his private ease and safety.

In the time of your calamities (and I will not dwell upon them longer than is necessary) he was banished from the city with the rest of the people; and while they made no attempt to return, he continued in the territory of Attica. But
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when the brave men who had seized the castle of Phylé, advanced as far as the Pireum; and when the citizens, not only those who still remained in the country, but such as had fled into foreign lands, returned to unite themselves either with the party in the city, or with that in the Pireum, and thus contended for the interests of their country; he alone acted a different part from them all; for having collected his effects, he fled from his native land, courted the assistance of a protector*, and chose to live as an inhabitant of Oropus, rather than continue a citizen of Athens. Many of the citizens changed sides, when they found that those who had seized Phylé gained advantages over their opponents. But he thought it more prudent to return after the danger, than expose himself for his country: He came not to the Pireum; he no where was witness of an engagement; and having thus betrayed you, even in the midst of your prosperity, what would he not have done had you been unfortunate? Those who took no share in the public danger, on account of their private misfortunes, deserved pardon, and have obtained it: Their poverty, or bodily distress, sufficiently excused them. But who that sees him, can pretend, that he is incapable of personal service? And I shall prove, that even had this been the case, he is rich enough to have hired a soldier in his stead. Ought not *he* then, who was in both respects so able to assist you, and yet withheld all assistance, to be universally detested? Nor can you incur the resentment of any

* Strangers at Athens were obliged to pay a small annual tribute to the state, and besides this, to choose a protector, or rather patron, who defended their rights, and protected them from injury. This passage shews us, that the same custom prevailed in other cities. The origin of it was every where the same. There were anciently few strangers but those taken in war, who were reduced into a state of servitude. Strangers, therefore, were afterwards considered as emancipated slaves, who had not indeed a master, but a *patron*.

~~abandoned~~ party by now rejecting him with disgrace; for he openly abandoned both, neither appearing at the Piræum, nor in the city. This he himself must confess; so that when the senate is filled with such as maintained a conduct similar to his own, (which may it never happen!) let him then stand candidate for admission. You shall now be informed by the witnesses, of the truth of what has hitherto been advanced. *The witnesses.* The only excuse that is left for him, is, that he was prevented from taking the field by bodily indisposition. This indeed might be admitted, if it should appear, that, like the other citizens who laboured under infirmities of body, he had either paid the ordinary subsidy, or procured some member of his own ward to serve in his stead. But that nothing of this kind took place, you shall be informed by Diotimus, and other persons appointed to raise forces, with the contributions from such citizens as were incapable of personal service. *The witnesses.* He not only withheld his assistance, but prepared to profit by your misfortunes; and fallying forth from Oropus, at the head of a number of banditti, who delight in public calamity and disorder, he ravaged the open country, robbed the old men who remained in it, and reduced those who before possessed but the bare necessities of life, to the last degree of want and misery (who though no longer able to assist you with their persons, still accompanied you with their wishes and their hearts), and who are now prevented, by the infirmities of age, from seeking vengeance on their oppressor. Let not their misfortunes twice prove his security; first, against themselves, when he plundered them; and now against your decree, which they are unable to solicit. Rather let that wretch be held in abhorrence, whose cruelty insulted those whom all other men regarded as objects of compassion. *The witnesses.*

I desire

I desire you to form no worse opinion of him than his own mother entertained. His behaviour towards her was so unnatural, that, though blameless in every other respect, he deserves, on that account alone, to be declared incapable of bearing any public office. I omit her many accusations against him; for, on her death-bed alone, she sufficiently declared her sense of his villany. Then she could not bear to think of being committed to him, even after she should be dead, but sent for Antiphanes, a man noways related to her, and gave him three minæ to defray the expence of her funeral, passing over this unnatural son. Must not she have been sensible, that no propinquity in blood could move this abandoned wretch to his duty? And surely, if a mother, who of all persons is the most patient under the injuries of her own children, and who puts the highest value even on their most inconsiderable services, estimating them rather by the good-will which they discover, than by any advantage which they may afford; if she imagined, that he would retain the money intended for her funeral, what opinion ought indifferent persons to form? For, if he could be guilty of such offences against those with whom he was connected by the nearest ties of nature, what would he not commit against others? That I speak the truth, you shall be informed by the man who received the money, and conducted the funeral.

Upon what ground then can you admit him into the senate? As a man of innocent life? He is convicted of having betrayed his country. Because he will become more virtuous? Let him first shew, that he is capable of doing as much good, as he has already done evil; let him prove his services; for prudent men bestow not the rewards of virtue, until they can be fairly demanded;

manded ; and it will be extraordinary indeed, if you recompense him for the good which he promises to perform, instead of punishing him for the evil which he has already committed. Will you approve of him, then, in order to encourage the citizens, and to shew, that all are equally entitled to honours ? But, in the same proportion, you must discourage the virtuous ; who will be ready to abandon their principles, when they perceive bad men raised to the highest offices, and consider that those can never be grateful for favours, who have not spirit to resent injuries.

It is worthy of your examination, why he who betrays a garrison, a camp, or a ship, which contains but a small number of citizens, should be subjected to the last punishments which you can inflict ; while he who has betrayed not a part, but the whole state, should contend, not for avoiding punishment, but for obtaining honours. Surely it would be more equitable, that those who, like Philo, have betrayed the public freedom itself, should, instead of being candidates for offices, stand trial for their liberties and fortunes.

But he pretends, I am told, that if absence on this occasion had been criminal, there would be some express law to prevent it. He considers not, that the want of an express law is owing to the enormity of a crime, of which no Athenian citizen could be supposed capable *. If the law punishes the

* In the original, " no orator nor lawgiver could suppose any Athenian citizen to be capable." The word translated Lawgiver, properly signifies one of those officers, who were chosen by lot, out of such as had been judges in the great courts of Athens. Their business was not to enact new laws, for this could only be done in the public assemblies ; but to inspect the old, and if they found any of them useless or prejudicial, as the state of affairs then stood, they caused them to be abrogated by an act of the people.

man who deserts his rank in the day of battle, can it hold him innocent who deserted the city itself, in the time of its danger and calamity? There would most assuredly be a law against him, could it be conceived that such a monster should exist*.

How could you defend yourselves against the charge of partiality, if, after punishing in a manner becoming the dignity of the state, such strangers as forsook us on this urgent occasion, you should allow a citizen, convicted of the same perfidy, to escape not only without punishment, but even without dishonour. Consider, when you punish the vicious, and reward the deserving. It is not merely from gratitude or resentment; but in a great measure for the sake of example; that all may aim at obtaining merit, and avoid guilt. Reflect what oaths that man would regard as binding, who betrayed his paternal gods; what advice he would propose concerning the administration of public affairs, who was indifferent about the liberty of his country; and how *he* would conform to the secret determinations of the senate, who despised its express commands: Most unreasonable would it be, that the man who instead of exposing himself to danger, shamefully avoided it, should be preferred in your distribution of honours. And it would be still more intolerable, were you not now to shew your disapprobation of him, who formerly discovered his contempt for you.

I observe, that many, after soliciting me in vain, are prepared to excite your sympathy and compassion. But when you were deliberating, not about the choice of senators, but your

* This reasoning was familiar to the Athenians. Solon enacted no law against parricide, because he thought it injurious to suppose any person capable of such a crime. Plut. in Solone.

lives and safety ; when you were on every side surrounded with dangers, and exposed to contests, in which the prize of victory was the government itself ; then they did not entreat him to lend you his assistance, to defend his country, the general liberty, and that senate, into which he now seeks to be admitted. He can have no reason then to complain of being refused this honour. It is not you who exclude him ; he has already excluded himself, by his indifference about the existence of that government, which he now desires to administer.

I am sensible of many omissions ; but, I trust, you are already well disposed to support the public interest. You have the best proof in your own breasts, of those who are worthy to become senators. You know what services you yourselves performed, before you aspired at this dignity. But his claim is of a different kind, new and unheard of before, and equally inconsistent with our liberty and our laws.

THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIA
IN

Defence of MANTITHEUS before the SENATE.

A a a

THE
NOTARY
PUBLIC
OF
THE
STATE OF
MASSACHUSETTS
IN
DEFENCE OF MANUFACTURES BEFORE THE SENATE.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

MANTITHEUS being a candidate for a public office, his character, of consequence, came to be examined before the senate. Among other charges brought against him, with a view to exclude him from the honour to which he aspired, he is accused of having served in the cavalry, in defence of the usurpation of the thirty tyrants. Lyfias, however, not only justifies him against this reproach, but proves, by the whole tenor of his behaviour at home and abroad, in war and in peace, in public and private life, that he is entitled to the goodwill and esteem of his countrymen. The public events which are taken notice of in this discourse, fix its date twenty years after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war^{*}; as this war was immediately followed by the government of the thirty tyrants, which lasted only two years, Mantitheus here defends himself against an accusation, which must at least be of eighteen years standing.

^{*} See the Introduction to Lyfias's Funeral Oration.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS,

IN

Defence of MANTITHEUS before the SENATE.

IF I were not convinced, O Senators! that my accusers are desirous by every method to destroy me, I should reckon myself obliged to them for the present attack on my character; for nothing can be more advantageous to those who are conscious of their own integrity, than to be compelled to enter into a defence of their life and behaviour. And I am so confident in the merit of my services, that I am persuaded, if I should now appear in a doubtful or unfavourable light, my fellow-citizens, upon hearing this discourse, will have good reason to alter their opinion, and in future hold me in better esteem. If I shall only prove, O senators! that I am well disposed towards the present system of government, and that, in order to establish it, I was exposed to the same dangers with yourselves, I entreat no particular favour; but if it shall appear, that in every other respect I have lived with moderation, and in a manner directly opposite to the opinion and reports of my accusers, I entreat, that the imputations unjustly thrown on me, may fall, as they ought, on them.

In

In the time of the thirty tyrants, I was so far from serving in the cavalry, that I did not even remain in Athens. My father had sent my brother and myself to Satyrus, king of Pontus, before the misfortune in the Hellespont; I witnessed neither the destruction of the walls, nor the revolution in the government; and I returned only five days before the exiles came from Phylè to the Pireum. Is it probable, that, arriving at such a crisis, I should seek to involve myself in the dangers that threatened the Thirty, or that they, disposed as they were to hate every innocent man, should offer a participation in their government to him who had no share in their crimes? You cannot learn from the public registers, who served in the cavalry; for the names of many are there recorded, who were at that time abroad. With regard to this matter you have better evidence. On your return to the city, you ordered the officers of the tribes, to give in the names of the horsemen, that they might receive their pay. And no one can prove, that my name was presented, or that I was paid. Yet the officers, doubtless, would be particularly attentive in their returns, as the least inaccuracy subjected them to a fine. If I am not convicted of injuring my fellow-citizens, it seems a matter of no consequence, whether I served in the cavalry or not; since, of those who actually served, you have admitted several into the senate, and appointed others generals and masters of horse. But my adversaries, having nothing criminal to lay to my charge, would construe innocence into guilt, and thus they evidence their calumny and falsehood. *Declare your evidence. The witness is examined.*

I know not, that it is necessary to say any thing farther upon the objection alleged against me. In other trials, the defence ought to be confined to the libel; in impeachments relating to public offices, it seems proper to enter into a justification of the whole life and behaviour.

behaviour. I entreat you then to hear me with favour; and my apology shall be in as few words as possible. First of all, after my paternal estate had been reduced by the public misfortunes, as well as by those of my own family, I gave two sisters in marriage, each with a portion of thirty minæ; and my brother must confess, that he received the best share of the inheritance. With regard to the rest of the citizens, I have lived in a manner so blameless, that, previous to the present trial, no one ever attempted to give me the least uneasiness or disturbance.

Nor has my conduct in public life been less inoffensive. It is the best proof of it, that all the young drunkards, gamblers, and profligates, are at variance with me. It is they who accuse and traduce me, and their reason for it is, because my sentiments and manners are totally the reverse of their own. But notwithstanding the dangerous and unsettled times in which I lived, and in which many have been condemned for crimes the most daring and the most dishonourable, I have kept clear of every appearance of guilt, and, until the present occasion, none had ever ventured publicly to accuse me.

In undertaking foreign expeditions, and in exposing myself to the dangers of war, you will consider, whether I have performed my duty in its full extent. When, in consequence of your alliance with the Bœotians, you had occasion to send forces to Haliartus, I was summoned by Orthobulus to serve among the cavalry. But as every body knew that the horse would be exposed to little danger, and that the whole shock must be sustained by the infantry, there were many who, without being qualified, mounted on horseback; while I came up to Orthobulus, and desired he would erase my name from the roll, deeming it a disgrace that the multitude should

†

be

be exposed to any danger in which I did not completely share. *Orthobulus give your testimony. The witnesses.*

The citizens having assembled before their march, I observed among them many excellent and brave men, who were destitute of all necessaries for their journey; and I exhorted those in better circumstances to relieve them. For my own part, I gave two men, thirty drachmas each^b; not that I was richer than my neighbours, but to excite their generosity by my example. *The witnesses.* The expedition into Corinth was reckoned so dangerous, that many declined engaging in it. But it was by my own desire, that I fought in the first rank against the enemy. And though my tribe was particularly unfortunate in the engagement; yet when Thrasybulus upbraided the army for retreating, I was the last man who left the field of battle. Not many days after, we prevented the approach of the enemy, by seizing the posts in Corinth. Agefilaus had made an incursion into Bœotia, and the generals thought proper to make a separation of those forces which were to be sent to its relief. All dreaded being appointed to this service; and not without reason, O senators! since they had no sooner been wonderfully delivered from one danger, than they were unexpectedly exposed to another. On this occasion, I begged the commander to send my company without committing it to lot. Whatever reason, therefore, you may have for resentment against those who desire to be entrusted with the management of public affairs, though they have never fought for their country, you can allege no such accusation against me; I have not only obeyed orders, but exposed myself to voluntary dangers. And to this conduct I was urged, not because I deemed it a light matter to fight against the Lacedæmonians, but that, if ever I

^b The sum of thirty drachmas was the month's pay of a horseman.

should

accused by
 A enemies, I might have your friendship to depend on. *The*
witnesses. Nor have I ever neglected my duty in any
 other expedition in which I was engaged; but, on every
 occasion, have been among the first who took the field, and
 among the last who left it. And surely, if you would wish
 to be acquainted with the characters of your citizens, you must
 judge of them by their actions. By these you must estimate
 their value, and not by their freedom in explaining them.
 From this neither the public nor individuals ever suffered
 injury, but we are all indebted to those who fought against the
 enemies of our country.

I am sensible of having given offence, because, at so
 early an age, I have ventured to speak in public; but my
 situation necessarily required it: I wished too, to imitate my
 ancestors, who never abandoned the care of public affairs;
 and, to be ingenuous, I coveted the esteem of my fellow-
 citizens. Encouraged by this motive, who would not speak
 and act for the public:—Why be affected by the opposition
 of such men—it is not they, but you, who are our judges.

THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS,

PRONOUNCED

In the Court of AREOPAGUS, in Defence of a CITIZEN
accused of having stolen a consecrated Olive.

INTRODUCTION.

AT Athens there were certain olives consecrated to Minerva, the fruits of which belonged not to any private person, but were reaped by a tenant of the public. These olives were surrounded by small spots of ground, commonly enclosed, which it was unlawful to use for the ordinary purposes of agriculture or pasturage. Both the olives and the ground contiguous to them, were under the inspection of the court of the Areopagus, which every month inquired into their condition, and punished any trespass committed on them by the owners of the adjoining fields. He who cultivated the ground, thus set apart for rearing this favourite plant, was subjected to a fine; but if any man had been so bold as to destroy or remove the plant itself, and could be legally convicted of this crime, he was punished by banishment and confiscation of goods; the slaves who informed against him obtained their liberty; and the trial was carried on before the court of the Areopagus, the most respectable of all the Grecian tribunals.

It does not appear easy, at first sight, to give a reason why an offence, seemingly so slight in itself, should have been prohibited under such severe sanctions, or distinguished by consequences no less singular than important. This, however, is in some measure explained in the following discourse. The olive was much cultivated, and commonly very plentiful in the neighbourhood of Athens. The fruit of this plant was there esteemed, not merely as a luxury, but reckoned, as in most

warm countries, one of the chief conveniencies of life. A great number of the olives being consecrated to Minerva, and belonging to the public, they formed no inconsiderable branch of the revenue; so that political as well as religious reasons conspired to draw down a severe punishment on him who invaded so sacred a property.

Against this formidable accusation, the speaker defends himself by every argument, that was likely to have weight with his audience. The style is clear, simple, and well adapted to the manly severity of the judges before whom he spoke. The reasoning is rather strong than refined, and chiefly grounded on facts. In many passages, however, we discover that artful subtlety, which the ancients considered as the peculiar characteristic of Lysias, and in which they accounted him superior to all other writers. Thus the defendant having observed, that he himself had furnished witnesses to his adversary, by offering to put his slaves to the torture, which proposal had been neglected, under pretence that slaves were not to be believed, "Wonderful," says he, "that slaves, who being put to the torture, often accuse themselves of crimes which are punished with death, should endure the extremity of pain rather than declare against their masters, for whom they have so little friendship:—Balance the testimony of all these witnesses against that of Nicomachus alone."

The speaker is at great pains to prove, "that from the time of his acquiring the estate, there never was any olive on the spot where it was said to have been cut down. He observes, how extraordinary it would be, that a man who had obtained the character of being uncommonly cautious and circumspect,

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should

INTRODUCTION TO LYSIAS'S ORATION. 375

should be guilty of a trespass attended with so little profit, and of which he might so easily be convicted; especially, as he had many opportunities of offending against the public, which, had he been disposed to injustice, he might have embraced, with advantage to himself, and without possibility of being discovered. He mentions his past services, and insists with triumph, on the integrity of his whole life and behaviour. He had enemies, he owns, whose hatred was bitter and unrelenting; these spoke louder in defaming his character than in praising their own; and they had now stirred up against him Nicomachus, the accuser in this trial, not from the hopes of prevailing in it, but with a view to extort money from the defendant; who, they believed, rather than contend with so unworthy an adversary, would be disposed to bribe him into silence."

A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S
P R O N O U N C E D

In the Court of AREOPAGUS, in Defence of a CITIZEN
accused of having stolen a consecrated Olive.

IT was formerly, O Senators ! in the power of a peaceable man, to avoid trials and prosecutions. But so unexpectedly are we at present attacked by profligate informers, that were it possible, the children unborn ought to tremble at the evils which await them ; for dangers are alike common to the innocent and the guilty. The indictments, too, are often so vague and general, that it is no easy matter to refute them. This is remarkably the case with that now before you. I was first libelled for cutting down an olive bearing fruit ; and it was pretended, that complete evidence might be obtained against me, from those to whom I sold it. But this contrivance being disappointed (for no such evidence could be found), my adversaries change at pleasure the state of the question, pretend it was a trunk only that I removed, and thus render my defence as precarious, as their own licence in telling falsehoods is unbounded. My province, however, is to expose
C c c such

such artifices, and it is yours to listen to me without prejudice, in a contest where my all is at stake.

To explain the matter from the beginning.—The field in question formerly belonged to Pisander, but being confiscated with the rest of his property, on account of his political misconduct, it was bestowed as a gift from the people on Appollodorus the Megarian. He, for a short time, cultivated it himself, and a little before the government of the Thirty^d, sold it to Anticles, who let it to another. Soon after the peace, I bought it from Anticles. It is my business then to show, that, at the time of this purchase, there was neither olive, nor trunk of an olive, upon the field: Whether the olive was before this time cut down, or whether it ever existed, is a matter of indifference in the present cause. For you all know, that, amidst the calamities of war, the lands at a distance from the city were laid waste by the Lacedæmonians, while those in its neighbourhood were ravaged by the allies. But am I to be answerable for these calamities—especially since this field continued for three years the property of the public, and consequently could not be expected to be spared, when even private property was no longer secure. It is well known to you, O Senators! at least to those who are entrusted with such concerns, that many fields are now fruitless, which, before the war, were covered with olives. Yet although the same persons have still continued proprietors of these fields, both during the war and since the peace, you have never once thought proper to accuse them; and will you not acquit those,

^d The thirty tyrants, appointed by Lyfander to govern the Athenians after their misfortunes in the Peloponnesian war.

only having only acquired their estates since the peace, cannot with the least shadow of justice be made accountable for the ravages of the war? But I am persuaded, Senators! that though I could say a great deal more upon this subject, I must have already satisfied you.

When I entered on the actual possession of the land, I thought proper, in less than five days, to let it to Callistratus, in the archonship of Pythodorus; he possessed it for two years, but never discovered there either olive or trunk. Next year I let it to Demetrius, and afterwards to Alcias, freeman of Antisthenes. *And let these witnesses be examined. The witnesses.* Upon the expiration of the lease, I took it into my own hands. My accuser pretends, that I destroyed the olive in the archonship of Lyfiades. But they who formerly cultivated the field, or who hired it many years from myself, have testified, that there never was any such tree on the ground. For my part, I used to take it amiss to be accounted a man of such deep design, and such wonderful caution, as never to have performed the most trivial action without a motive; I thought that this praise by no means belonged to me. At present, however, it would be fortunate for me, were I allowed to possess even the smallest degree of common sense; this might be sufficient to persuade you, that I should at least have weighed the advantage that might result from the perpetration of such a deed, with the punishment to which it might expose me. In such cases men act not from caprice but from interest, and what interest I could have in perpetrating this injustice let my adversaries explain. It was not poverty that compelled me: the trunk hurt not my soil; it injured not my vines; it obstructed not my prospect; and I was not so ignorant of the laws of this country, as to be

unacquainted with the punishment appointed for this offence. Yet, uninfluenced by the slightest motive, I must be guilty of the greatest injustice ; and lest my crime should escape observation, I commit it in open day ^b.

Had it only subjected me to shame, this perhaps I might have disregarded ; but it exposed me to the greatest hardships. For what could be more miserable, than to regard my attendants, conscious of this deed, no longer as slaves but as tyrants : I durst not punish them for their offences, because, by giving information of my guilt, they might at once obtain vengeance on me and liberty for themselves. Yet had I been unmoved by this disagreeable prospect, how could I be so bold as, for an inconsiderable gain, to destroy this trunk, which every one who had ever hired and cultivated the ground near which it stood, was concerned in preserving. It was the manifest interest of all these persons, to use every method for detecting the man who had been guilty of this violation, which, if they could not give up the real author of it, might be falsely charged on themselves. But they all join in absolving me, though at the risk of being held guilty of the crime for which I am now tried.

Supposing, however, that I did not dread a discovery either by my servants or tenants, what confidence could I repose in my inquisitive, tattling neighbours, who are not only careful observers of what they see us perform, but even curiously pry into what we would most willingly conceal. Among them, I have both friends and enemies, and such my accuser ought to produce as witnesses, rather than

^b The accuser had said in the libel. that the olive was carried away in the day-time.

allow so weighty a cause to rest on his single evidence, however minute and circumstantial: He tells you, that I stood by the trunk, that my servants cut it down, and that the waggoner, heaving it on his vehicle, carried it away. But, Nicomachus! you ought, at that juncture, to have summoned your witnesses, and while the affair was still recent, brought your accusation. I should not then have been capable of making my defence, and you, my enemy, would have obtained complete vengeance. If you had pretended to act for the public good, your conduct would not have then borne such evident marks of the contrary. Or had avarice been your motive, then you might have gratified it; for the evidence being undeniable, I should have had no means of safety but by bribing you into silence.

Having taken none of these measures, but endeavoured to destroy me by calumny, you pretend the witnesses were then deterred by my power and riches. But why did not you, who saw me commit the crime, call upon the archons themselves, or other members of the court of the Areopagus. There was no occasion for any other evidence, for my judges would then have been eye-witnesses of my guilt. It is most insufferable, O Senators! that he, who, had he produced witnesses, would insist on their authority, should, because there are no witnesses, turn this circumstance against me. But I am not surprized at it, for informers will never want such pretences or such evidence.

You, however, O Senators! will form a very different opinion; you must be sensible, that, as there are many olives and other wood upon my fields in the plain, I might have cut down these, or cultivated the ground contiguous to them, with much greater safety, because, from their vast number, the deficiency

of a few trees could hardly have been perceived. But I have never been guilty of any such fraud, as those entrusted with this concern can abundantly testify. You who examine into these matters every month, and who every year send commissioners to observe the state of the consecrated olives, have never found me culpable of ploughing the ground contiguous to them—and would I have been anxious to avoid the inconsiderable fine appointed for this offence, while I despised banishment and confiscation^c? Or, neglecting all the other trees which I might have rooted out with little danger, would I have chosen to carry away this particular trunk, of which the discovery was inevitable? Consider also, whether, if I had intended to escape punishment, I should have ventured to commit this injustice during the Democracy, or under the government of the Thirty. I say not this, as if I had then been more powerful than at present, but because there was at that time a greater licence for wrong; from which having then abstained, I were of all men the most absurd, if, under the equity and vigilance of your government, I should proceed to manifest injustice. What madness! to remove a trunk from a particular spot, in which, as he himself allows, there was no other tree. The public road, too, makes almost a circle round it; it is seen from the houses of my neighbours; it is uninclosed, and every where conspicuous. Who then, under such circumstances, would attempt so flagrant a crime? It is strange, indeed, that you, to whom the care of the sacred olives has at all times been entrusted, should never have subjected me to a fine for having cultivated

^c Banishment and confiscation were the punishment for destroying or carrying away the tree; those who cultivated the adjoining land, were only subjected to a fine.

the ground around them, nor accused me of any other violation in this particular, and that this man, who has no ground in the neighbourhood, who was never chosen an inspector, and who is not qualified to obtain this honour, should indict me for so heinous an offence. I intreat you, therefore, not to regard his allegations as more credible than the facts which you have seen, or decide by the testimony of an enemy what you yourselves have witnessed.

Consider not only what I have now said, but the whole tenor of my life. The orders of the republic, I have, on every occasion, cheerfully obeyed; and whether in furnishing your galleys, in presiding over your entertainments, or in executing any other public office, my behaviour has been equal to that of the most generous of my fellow-citizens. Yet had I performed all these services with less ardor, or executed them with less expence, I should have run no danger of banishment or confiscation. I might be richer, without injustice, without blame, and without danger. But committing this offence, I expose myself to blame and to danger, without the prospect of advantage. These arguments are adequate to the importance of the cause; allow them to have their proper effect, and prefer the evidence of the whole body of your citizens, to the assertions of this single accuser.

But farther, O Senators! I myself furnished him with witnesses, and offered to give up to the torture, all those slaves whom I possessed upon first purchasing the field; thinking this the most expeditious method to disprove the pretences of my adversary. This proposal, however, he rejected,—saying, that slaves were not to be depended on. Wonderful! that slaves, who being put to the torture,
often

often accuse themselves of crimes which are punished with death, should endure the extremity of pain rather than declare against their masters, for whom they have so little friendship. But it is evident, Senators ! that had I refused the testimony of my slaves, it would have argued a consciousness of guilt ; and Nicomachus, by refusing it, proves himself conscious of falsehood ; especially as his situation and mine were so extremely different. If they gave a declaration favourable to him, I had no longer any defence ; though they absolved me, he suffered no inconvenience. It became him, therefore, rather to accept this evidence, than me to offer it. And my readiness in proposing this expedient, proceeded from a desire, that you might be persuaded, by this and every other method, of the integrity of my character.

Balance the testimony of all these witnesses, therefore, against that of Nicomachus alone ; consider, whether it is most probable, that he, without danger, should tell a falsehood, or that I should commit a crime which exposed me to the severest punishments ; and whether he be now acting the part of a good citizen, or that of a shameless informer. Nicomachus, in my opinion, has undertaken this suit at the instigation of my enemies, not with the hopes of success, but merely with a view to extort money from me. Men of worth, indeed, generally endeavour to avoid litigations with worthless and contemptible adversaries. I have thought differently, and determined, on the first notice of the accusation, to throw myself on your mercy. Nor has the terror of this process excited my desire to be reconciled with those enemies, who speak louder in my disgrace than in their own praise, and who, not daring openly to attack me, stir up informers like Nicomachus, whose assertions are unworthy of belief.

But

But of all men I shall be the most miserable, if unjustly banished—childless and alone—my house empty and abandoned—my mother in want of every necessary of life—under these circumstances, what must I endure, if, for the most infamous cause, I should be expelled a country that has ever been the object of my affection and respect ! By sea and land I have encountered every danger in her defence, and have supported the character of a worthy citizen in every revolution of government ! But I know not, Senators ! why I should thus express my sentiments. I have proved, both by circumstances and witnesses, that there was no trunk in the field. Remember this in your decision,—and demand why, if he had been really able to convict me in the fact, he should have delayed the process to this distant period ; why, instead of proofs, he should offer nothing but assertions ; and why, while I delivered my slaves to the torture, he should reject their evidence ?

IN THE COURT OF COMMONS

At the Bar of the Court of Commons

On the 14th day of January 1841

Present the Lord Chancellor

The Lord Chief Justice

The Lord Chief Baron

The Lord Chief Clerk

The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench

The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas

The Lord Chief Justice of the Exchequer

The Lord Chief Justice of the Admiralty

The Lord Chief Justice of the High Court of Chancery

The Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Sessions

The Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Criminal Sessions

The Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Criminal Sessions

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THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS
AGAINST THE EXCHEQUER.

D d d 2

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

LYSIAS, in this discourse, speaks against the Exchequer, a subject of the utmost delicacy in the Grecian republics. It is worth while to remark, the caution which he observes, to avoid giving offence to his judges ; and we learn from it, not to deem it an unhappy circumstance, when engaged in contests with the public, that we live in modern times, and under governments where, if the subject is not more free, the sovereign, at least, is more equitable.

A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S,
AGAINST THE EXCHEQUER.

YOU may perhaps imagine, Athenians! that, because I have always coveted the praise of virtue, I now aspire to that of eloquence. Yet this is so far from being my design, that I should much fear my inability to explain myself to your satisfaction; unless a simple narrative of the transaction entered into with the children of Eraton, were sufficient for the present purpose.

This man borrowed two talents from my father. That he received the money, and only in loan, I can prove by witnesses; and to what purpose he applied it, you shall hear from those who are most intimately acquainted with his affairs. *The witnesses.* While Eraton lived, I duly received the interest, and whatever else was agreed on. At his death, he left three sons, Erasiphon, Eraton, and Erasistratus, who performed no part of their engagements. In the time of the war, the courts of justice being shut, it was impossible to obtain redress; but peace was no sooner restored, than my father obtained a decision for the whole debt against Erasistratus, the only one of the brothers who remained at home. *The witnesses.* Since that time, the goods of Erasistratus have been

been confiscated; we still remain unpaid; and if you detain the whole in the Exchequer, there is no fund to satisfy our demand. That our title is preferable to that of the public, appears from the decision against Erasistratus, in consequence of which we acquired the property of his field at Sphetta, and let it during three years. The field at Cicynnus, indeed, with the house belonging to it, was contested by the tenants then in possession, and the proceedings were delayed. It appears reasonable therefore, that since the goods have been confiscated, two thirds should remain to the state, and the other third, the part of Erasistratus, should be decreed to me, my father having formerly obtained it. I do not pretend, that this portion should be calculated with the most scrupulous exactness, for the goods are estimated at more than a talent; all I demand is five minæ, leaving the remaining ten, and the surplus of the goods when sold at auction, to the state. The facts last mentioned will be attested by those who hired the field at Sphetta, by the neighbours of Cicynnus, to whom the circumstances of the trial are well known, and by the judges who suspended the proceedings. Their decree will prove, that my demand is not of a recent date; nor that I am more disposed to dispute the property of the public, than that of individuals. *The decree.* It appears then, that I extend not my demand to what is really due; but allow a considerable sum to which I am justly entitled to remain in the Exchequer. It is my duty, however, to entreat your protection, and, in your presence, to solicit the favour of the Syndicks °.

° The Syndicks were persons appointed, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, to take cognisance of all complaints relative to the confiscation of goods.

AN
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S,
I N

Defence of a CITIZEN, accused of appropriating the
Goods of Aristophanes, which had been confiscated.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following discourse is written in a strain of natural and persuasive eloquence, and possesses the merit of rendering us acquainted with several customs and characters of antiquity, which would otherwise be entirely unknown. Aristophanes and his father Nicophemus were originally in poor circumstances, but being distinguished by Conon's friendship, they had shared in the naval victory obtained by that commander, under the archonship of Eubulus^d. According to the ideas which prevailed not only in Athens, but throughout all Greece, the plunder which had been seized in war, and the prizes taken at sea, belonged not to the country of the conquerors, but to the individuals themselves, by whose valour they had been acquired. The booty which fell to the share of Nicophemus, in the naval victory, enriched him at once. His son Aristophanes, in the interval between that victory and the confiscation of his goods, which happened four years after, expended in the purchase of houses and land, in paying contributions to the state, and in giving shows and entertainments to the Athenian citizens, about the sum of three thousand pounds; which appears, from many passages in the following discourse, to have been deemed a considerable fortune in those days.

This great expence, instead of acquiring to Aristophanes the popular fame at which he aimed, only exposed him to danger. The estate of a man who made so great a figure, was too tempting a prize for Athenian avarice to resist. He

^d See Discourse on the History of Greece.

and his father were seized, put to death without trial, and their whole property confiscated. But the generosity of Aristophanes, and even the extravagance natural to those who have made an easy and rapid acquisition of fortune, had so wasted his estate, that nothing but the gleanings remained for the exchequer.

The Athenian rapacity thus disappointed, the enemies of the defendant, for whom Lyfias composed this discourse, pretended, that either he himself had sequestered part of Aristophanes's effects, or had at least received them from his father, lately dead. The pretence for this calumny was, that Aristophanes had married the defendant's sister, and there being no person with whom he was more nearly connected, it was not incredible, that, as his effects fell greatly short of the public expectation, some part of them might have been transferred, during his life-time, to his kinsmen. But the chief ground of the accusation, and that on which its success principally depended, was the character and present circumstances of the Athenians. "It is difficult, (says the speaker), and I am fully aware of the difficulty, to convince you of the real state of Nicophemus's fortune, and of your having received every thing belonging both to him and to Aristophanes, while the present scarcity of money continues in the city, and the interests of the exchequer are concerned." This, however, he attempts, and if we believe the authors^e who relate that, of all the discourses of Lyfias, two only were unsuccessful, it is probable, that he prevailed, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of the cause. When we consider the arguments which

^e Plutarch's Lives of the Ten Orators.

he makes use of, and the address with which they are urged, it will appear extraordinary, that so much needed be said upon the subject; and anywhere but at Athens, much less would have been sufficient. But the art of speaking plausibly upon every subject, had been there carried to so great a perfection, and such delicate management was required on the part of an individual, who defended his private rights against the community, always ready to invade them, that it probably demanded no meaner talents than those which Lysias possessed, to deliver his friend from the danger which threatened him. The orator, we may believe, exerted his abilities to the utmost in this cause. He had been particularly connected with Aristophanes; they had been sent together upon an embassy to Dionysius^f, and they had successfully executed their commission; they had the same friends, and they had suffered from the resentment of the same enemies.

I mean not to give a complete analysis of a discourse, which is sufficiently perspicuous. The defendant observes, that his father contracted an alliance with Aristophanes, by giving him his daughter, not on account of his riches, but because he was recommended by Conon, and esteemed by the public. He mentions, that, from the general character of his father, who gave considerable portions to his daughters, who took to himself a wife without a dower, and who advised his son to imitate his example; it was evident, that money had never influenced him in forming family connexions. He proves still farther, that Aristophanes, instead of bettering the circumstances of his wife's family, died even considerably

^f See the Oration.

in their debt. But as if all this were insufficient to remove the suspicion of his father's intermeddling with the goods of Aristophanes, he enters into a long detail of his public services and contributions; by which it appears, that a man who portioned each of his two daughters with about one hundred and thirty pounds, and who left about four hundred to his son, had expended no less than two thousand in musical entertainments, in fitting out gallies, in portioning the daughters of poor citizens, and burying those who had died in such mean circumstances, as were insufficient for defraying the expence of their own funeral. What renders this detail more interesting is, that the character of the man who acted in so public spirited a manner, is declared to have been extremely opposite to every kind of vain ambition or ostentatious generosity. The speaker even contrasts the prudent caution of his father, "who attended to his own affairs, and them only," with the splendid behaviour of his son-in-law, "who would have expended his whole fortune in the pursuit of honours and preferment."

He next proceeds to shew, that the estate of Aristophanes was never so great as the Athenians were ready to suppose it: he compares it with that of Timotheus, the son of Conon, and proves by the example of many persons who had been reckoned among the richest of the Greeks, and who had yet died in very moderate circumstances, that there is no particular in which his countrymen are more liable to mistakes, than in estimating the fortunes of their fellow-citizens. The discourse concludes with a natural but important observation. The
witnesses

witnesses having confirmed the defendant's report concerning the behaviour of his father, "This," says he, "is a noble testimony in his favour; and though, for a short time, a man may impose on the world by a false semblance of virtue, yet surely no one ever continued a villain for seventy years, without being discovered and brought to shame." This concern for the character of his father, which seems even greater than for his own reputation and fortune, is conspicuous throughout the whole discourse, and is an example worthy of imitation.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIA S,

IN

Defence of a CITIZEN, accused of appropriating the
Goods of Aristophanes, which had been confiscated.

WHEN I reflect, Athenians ! that my whole fortune is at stake, and that not only my own character, but that of my father, depends on the success of this discourse, I feel an anxiety proportioned to my danger. Unpractised in the arts of debate, I must defend myself against the severest accusations, which my enemies can contrive against me. But their pains and preparations I need not take time to describe ; you have yourselves seen them ; and as for my own inexperience in pleading, all who know me are convinced of it. But I intreat you, O Athenians ! (and you will grant me a request which is founded on the strictest justice) to be heard without anger, and placed on equal ground with my accusers. To this I am the better entitled, as how impartial soever you may be, my opponents must still have the advantage. They have commenced this suit to gratify a deliberate purpose of malignity ; they have had leisure to dispose circumstances in the manner

most favourable to their design; and they carry it on without danger to themselves. My situation is the very reverse, and I contend with them under every disadvantage. My character has been traduced, my fears excited, and the danger threatening me is the greatest to which any man can be exposed.

You will be still more inclined to afford me protection, if you reflect, that the insolence of accusers is now greater than ever; consider, how many of them have been so clearly convicted of calumny, even before this tribunal, that they have been obliged to retire from your presence with disgrace; and on how many false witnesses you have inflicted a late, though merited punishment, after the injuries of those who had perished through their perjury, could no longer be repaired.

It is thus, that when many are involved in the same accusation, those who are tried the last may generally expect a more gentle treatment than their companions. Your severity towards those who were first brought before you, and who were exposed to the first movements of your resentment, inclines you to treat the rest with moderation, and even to listen favourably to their defence^b. But unfortunately for Nicophemus and Aristo-

^b This observation gives us a very mean idea of the equity of the Athenian tribunals. That judges should sometimes be under the influence of anger, resentment, and other passions, and that those of Athens should not differ in this respect from others, is noways remarkable. But that a party, at the same time that he solicits the favour of his judges, and has every thing to dread from their resentment, should tell them, that they are governed by passion, or guided by caprice, is what could hardly be expected. This, however, may be accounted for, if we consider, that the accusation against which the speaker defends himself, is of a public nature. Of crimes against the state, the citizens of Athens were the judges. They felt every injury done their country as their own. Their resentment was roused as by a private offence; and in their ardor to obtain the praise of good citizens, they often abandoned the character of just men.

phanes, they had no opportunity of vindicating their behaviour. They were put to death not only without evidence, but even without trial. Their persons were seized by violence; none of their friends were afterwards permitted to visit them; even their bodies were left uninterred; which last and dreadful calamity was added, to complete their misfortunes. But I dwell not on these particulars, (for what can it now avail?) especially since the calamities of Aristophanes's family ended not with his father and himself. His children ought to be deemed still more unhappy. Though accused of no public crime or private injury, they were deprived of their father's fortune; and, even in their only remaining hope of being educated by their grandfather, miserably disappointed. I myself, after losing my relations, and, without enjoying their fortune, being compelled to maintain their orphans, am now shamefully calumniated, and exposed to the loss of that property which my ancestors honourably acquired.

My father, Athenians! expended much more for his country, than for both himself and his family. His country, by what I have heard him repeatedly declare, cost him more than double of what I at present possess. Do not then condemn *him* of injustice who always behaved with generosity, and whose private expences were as small, as his public, every year, were considerable. There are persons more deserving of your resentment, those abandoned profligates, who, penurious in their public contributions, squander away their paternal inheritance, and whatever else they may acquire, in the basest and most infamous pleasuresⁱ.

ⁱ This probably has a reference to the character of some of the accusers.

It is difficult, O Athenians! (and I am fully aware of the difficulty) to remove the opinion conceived of the greatness of Nicophemus's fortune, during the present scarcity of money, especially as the treasury is concerned^k. I despair not, however, of convincing you; and I only entreat you to hear me attentively to the end, and then pass that decree which may appear most consistent with your oaths^l, and most advantageous to the state.

Conon, while commander in chief in Peloponnesus, brought about the connexion between my father's family and that of Nicophemus, by desiring my sister to be given in marriage to Nicophemus's son, Aristophanes. My father, little suspecting the present impeachment, but considering that these persons had no small share in Conon's confidence and esteem—that their lives were without reproach—and that they even enjoyed considerable favour with the public—readily granted their request; as which of you, Athenians! would have rejected so advantageous an alliance? That money did not bias my father in this resolution, is evident from his whole life and behaviour. For he himself was no sooner become of age, than it depended on his own choice to marry a woman with a great portion; but he preferred my mother, who was entirely destitute of fortune, because she was the daughter of Xenophon^m, a man not only respected in private life, but

^k The speaker insinuates, that it would be no easy matter for him to exculpate himself, considering that it was for the interest of the state he should be found guilty.

^l He means the oaths taken by the judges, by which they bound themselves to decide agreeably to justice.

^m Xenophon is characterised by the speaker, as the son of Euripides, which makes it probable, that he is the same person mentioned by Thucydides, as one of the captains to whom Potidæa surrendered. Thucyd. lib. ii.

thought

thought worthy, as I am informed, of being entrusted with a high military command. Nor did my father accept the proposals of persons recommended only by their riches, who offered to marry my sisters unportioned; on the contrary, he gave one of them to Philomelus, the Pæanian, whom every body respects, more on account of his character than his wealth; and another to a man, who, though exceedingly poor, was not on that account less valuable, the nephew of Phœdrus, the Myrrinufian. With the latter he gave forty minæ^a; and, on the death of her first husband, she brought the same dower to Aristophanes.

My father advised me to observe the same conduct by which he and his daughters had been regulated. By his advice I rejected the offers of a large fortune, and rather courted an honourable connexion with people of character and worth; at present I have to wife the daughter of Kritodemus, who was slain by the Lacedæmonians in the sea-engagement in the Hellespont. You may be convinced, then, that he who preferred a wife that brought him no fortune, who gave a considerable portion to his daughters, and who received a very small one for his son, contracted not from lucrative motives an alliance with Aristophanes.

Nor is it probable, that the father and son-in-law ever lived in such familiarity as allowed the former to desire any pecuniary advantages from the latter. They differed not more in age than in sentiments. My father attended solely to his private concerns. Aristophanes was ambitious to appear on the great theatre of public life, and however large

^a Forty minæ make about 130*l*. From this discourse we may form some notion of the manner in which an Athenian fortune was divided among the different branches of a family.

his fortune might have been, would willingly have expended the whole of it in the pursuit of honours and preferment. The general tenor of his conduct leaves no room to suspect his character. When Conon had occasion to dispatch a messenger into Sicily, he voluntarily offered to execute the commission, and set out with Eunomus and Lysias; the latter of whom was his particular friend, and, as I have heard from those of the Pireum, a man of great merit with the people. The design of the voyage was to persuade Dionysius to enter into a family connexion with Evagoras, to declare war on the Lacedæmonians, and to form an alliance with Athens. All this they undertook to perform, regardless of every danger; and prevailed on Dionysius to retain the gallies which he intended to have sent to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians.

A short time after this embassy, Evagoras solicited assistance from Athens, on which occasion Aristophanes displayed the same activity of genius, and the same generosity. You indeed furnished the gallies, but there was no money to equip them. Aristophanes raised the greatest part himself, entreating and persuading his friends, and borrowing from every one who would lend him. From his brother, by the father's side, he obtained forty minæ. The day before he sailed, he came to my father, and asked him for what money he could spare, to purchase arms, and to hire soldiers for the gallies. We were possessed of seven minæ only, which he received. Is it likely, then, that a man so ambitious of honour, who had been informed by letter that nothing should be wanting in Cyprus, whither he was prepared to sail, would not raise every sum that could possibly be

be procured, especially as he must have been sensible, that, on his services in this particular, his merit with Evagoras would principally depend? You will be informed by the witnesses, that I declare the truth. Call Eunomus and Lyfias °. *The witnesses.* You hear, then, that Aristophanes not only borrowed the money, but carried it on board. It is plain, therefore, he would make use of every obolus of his own; and this is also evident from the following transaction.

A little before Aristophanes set sail, I received a message from Demus, the son of Perilampis, and commander of a ship belonging to Cyprus, who informed me, that he had a gold cup which was given him as a ticket by the great king †; that this ticket would be exceedingly convenient for any one who intended to travel on the continent, as, in case of accidents, it would enable him to procure money and many other advantages. He entreated, therefore, that I would endeavour to prevail on Aristophanes, who was going into those parts, to lend him sixteen minæ; and, in return for this favour, he promised not only to put the ticket immediately in his hands, but to pay him the sixteen minæ, with four minæ of interest, as soon as he himself should arrive in Cyprus. I brought about a meeting between them; and Aristophanes moved by my entreaty, and perceiving the advantage of the proposal, was much inclined to embrace it. But he swore, that he could not spare any of his ready money, otherwise he would cheerfully receive the ticket and comply with our requests. This the witnesses will confirm. *The witnesses.*

° The name of Lyfias is left out in the original, because it was thought absurd for a man to desire himself to be called. The editors did not reflect, that Lyfias spoke not the discourse himself, but only composed it for another.

† The king of Persia.

That

That Aristophanes left neither gold nor silver, is evident from what has now been declared. Nor did he possess much plate of mixed metal, for he was obliged to borrow that which he used in entertaining the ambassadors of Evagoras. You shall hear, however, what he really left. *The list of his plate is read over.* The quantity may perhaps appear to some of you, O Athenians! very inconsiderable; but you will reflect, that Nicophemus and Aristophanes, before they were enriched by the naval victory, possessed only one small farm. The victory happened in the archonship of Eubulus, which was but four years before the goods of Aristophanes were confiscated. During three years of this time, he furnished the expences of a galley; he exhibited theatrical entertainments; he paid large contributions to supply the exigencies of the state; bought a house for fifty minæ, and purchased above three hundred acres of land. Is it possible then, that, after all these expences, he should have much to lay out on furniture? Or is it probable, that he would do so, since this is an article which, when put to sale, seldom amounts to so much as is expected; and there are few who buy it in great quantities, without having reason to repent the purchase. Besides, the effects subjected to confiscation, are often damaged to such a degree as to be rendered useless. Even the doors are sometimes torn from the houses. But nothing of this kind was allowed to happen in the present case; for sentence was no sooner passed, than my sister left the house, and secured it with guards, so that no part of the furniture was either purloined or damaged. And as we formerly offered, in the presence of the Syndicks⁹, so we still offer, to take that oath,

⁹ The Syndicks were magistrates who received the account of effects or estates which fell by confiscation to the public.

which

which is most sacred among men, that we have no part of the effects of Aristophanes, but that, on the contrary, he is indebted to us for the dower of my sister^{*}, and for seven minæ, which he received in loan from my father. And should not we be the most unhappy of men, if, after losing by him so much already, we were condemned for fraudulently concealing his property; and what is still more cruel, compelled to maintain a sister and three children^{*}, who must be deprived of the wretched pittance which they receive from us, if we be now rendered incapable of longer supporting them? Consider, in the name of the Gods! what you are going to commit. Supposing that any of you had given in marriage one of your own daughters or sisters to Timotheus, the son of Conon; that, in his absence, he had been traduced and condemned; that his goods had been confiscated, and being put to sale, had not yielded above four talents to the public; would you think it reasonable, that because this profit turned out smaller than you expected, his relations should be reduced to beggary and ruin?

You all know, that Conon was entrusted with the sole power, and that Nicophemus durst not venture to disobey him. The general then would bestow but a small part of the profits on his subaltern; and if Nicophemus gained a great sum, you will grant that Conon must have acquired ten times as much. Besides, as these two persons united in sentiments on almost every subject, you will allow they would naturally

^{*} It appears from this passage, that, after the dissolution of the marriage, the dower reverted to the family of the wife.

^{*} This circumstance is mentioned more than once. The fortunes of the Athenians were commonly so small, that when subjected to any extraordinary expence, they were obliged to deprive themselves of the common necessities of life.

distribute

distribute their fortune nearly in the same manner. They had each a son in Athens; Conon had a son and wife in Cyprus, and Nicophemus a wife and daughter. Unless Conon, then, who had a considerable paternal inheritance, might choose to bestow on his absent son, more, in proportion to what he retained to himself, than Nicophemus, who was originally in poor circumstances, might think proper to allow Aristophanes, we may suppose they would make the distribution in a manner nearly similar. Yet were you now to confiscate the estate of Timotheus, (which, may it never happen, unless it were to bring some great advantage to the public!) and were this estate less valuable than that of Aristophanes, would you, on that account, think it reasonable to reduce his kindred to beggary? It is not probable you would do so; for the death of Conon in Cyprus, and the will he made there, afford the clearest evidence that his fortune was far below what you supposed it. He consecrated in presents to Minerva, and Apollo of Delphos, the value of five thousand staters; he left his nephew, who managed all his money-matters in Cyprus, the sum of one thousand drachmas; he gave three talents to his brother; and the rest of his fortune, amounting to seven talents, to his son. It is impossible to pretend that his effects were pilfered, or that this account of them is inaccurate, when he himself gave it in his testament, as you shall hear the witnesses declare. *The witnesses.* And who could have believed, Athenians! until time had proved it, that the riches of Nicophemus bore any proportion to those of Conon? Aristophanes, however, bought houses and land to the value of five talents; he gave, both on account of his father and himself, theatrical entertainments to the people, which cost him

him five thousand drachmas ; he spent eighty minæ in defraying the expence of your gallies ; and when you had furnished ten ships to the ambassadors of Cyprus, he laid out three thousand drachmas in manning them. The total of these expences amounts to fifteen talents¹ ; which is above a third part of Conon's whole estate, as computed by himself in his testament : Can you, then, with the least appearance of justice, regard the fortune of Aristophanes as small, when it makes a third part of Conon's, of which you had no reason to expect it would make a tenth, even though I take not into account what Nicophemus retained in Cyprus, for the maintenance of his wife and daughter ?

I entreat, O Judges ! that after such complete evidence in our favour, you would not unjustly destroy us. For I have been told by my father, and other old men, that there is no point in which you are more frequently mistaken than in estimating the fortunes of your fellow-citizens. And I know, that many of those whom you deemed extremely rich, have, at their death, much disappointed your expectations. You all considered Ischomachus² worth seventy talents ; yet he left not ten to either of his two sons. The possessions of Stephanus, the son of Thallos, were believed equal to fifty talents : He left precisely eleven at his death. Nicias was thought to leave a hundred talents, and the most of it in ready money : His son Nicæretus declared at his death, that he had neither gold nor silver ;

¹ Fifteen talents make 2850*l.* so that the whole estate of Conon, which was about three times as much, must have been less than 9000*l.*

² This seems to be the same person who is introduced conversing with Socrates, in Xenophon's *Œconomics*.

and the value of his whole property exceeded not fourteen talents. Hipponicus was deemed the richest of all the Greeks; his father was said to possess more than two hundred talents^{*}; yet this Hipponicus left not even two talents to his son Callias. You all know, that Cleophon conducted the affairs of the state for several years, and nobody doubted that he had grown exceedingly rich by his employments. But his wealth has never yet been discovered; and his friends and relations, to whom he is supposed to have left it, still remain in extreme poverty.

The cause of the general mistake on this subject is the extravagant method of talking of the profits arising from military command and other public offices. An immense fortune, we think, may be acquired from these in the course of a few years; and, governed by this opinion, we have the audacity not only to calumniate the dead, but what is more surprising, even to accuse the living. You heard lately in a public assembly, that Diotimus had received forty talents from the shipmasters and merchants which he did not acknowledge. Upon his return, he was very uneasy at being thus traduced in his absence: He offered to lay open his accounts; and though the state was in great want of money, there was no man who attempted to convict him. But what must have been the consequences if Diotimus, after being accused of embezzling forty talents, had died on his voyage to Athens? His relations, though unacquainted with his transactions, must have been compelled

^{*} Two hundred talents, is in English money about 38000 l.

to answer the charge against him, and if they failed of success, their destruction was inevitable. Such flagrant acts of injustice proceed not from you, Athenians! but from those who falsely calumniate their fellow-citizens.

You need not be informed, that Alcibiades was commander in chief between four and five years; that he often conquered the Lacedæmonians; and that the state allowed him twice as much pay as any of the other generals. This raised an opinion among many of the citizens, that he was worth above an hundred talents. But his death proved their mistake; for he transmitted a smaller fortune to his children than he himself had received from his tutors.

Such are the errors, Athenians! into which you have formerly been led, in estimating the fortune of your fellow-citizens; and the consequences of these have often been fatal. Yet if the best and wisest are always the most open to conviction, and the readiest to correct their mistakes, you will now, I hope, afford me your protection in a cause so just, and where the evidence is so convincing. That you will relent, and abate of your former severity, is the only ground of my hope; but no means of safety are left, should you be determined to adhere to your ancient principles and maxims. Let your justice be displayed, in the name of the Gods, by acquitting me of a false charge, and let not the injustice of your decree be a reproach to yourselves. The information which I have given is not to be suspected; for my moderation and justice are more fully proved by the silent eloquence of my life, than by the most elaborate discourse.

In answer to the libel against me, you have been fully informed in what manner my connexions were formed with Aristophanes; who, instead of leaving money to others, was obliged to employ his credit to procure what might enable him to undertake an expedition into Cyprus. I shall now say a few words of myself.

I have lived for thirty years an obedient son, and an inoffensive citizen; though I dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Forum*, I was never seen in a court of justice, before the present danger compelled me to appear in my own defence. Thus much only of myself.—But as my father is accused of converting to his own use, the money which of right belonged to the public, you will pardon me for mentioning how much of his own fortune he expended both for the public and for his friends. I mention this, not to make an ostentatious display of his good offices, but to prove him guiltless of the crime which is now laid to his charge. For it is impossible, that the same man, who has so often been generous without necessity, should endeavour to gratify his avarice at the risque of his safety and his life. Nor did my father, in imitation of an example which too generally prevails, lay out his fortune in the service of the state, with a view to be elected into those offices, of which the profits might doubly repay his expence. He was never ambitious to become a magistrate, while he was careful to perform every service which might entitle him to that honour. He defrayed the charge of your musical entertainments; seven times he was trierarch; and when the state had occasion for his contributions, he was ever generous and liberal. That this may be incontrovertible, I shall enumerate separately

separately the particular sums. *The list of these is read over.* You hear then how much he expended; and, after serving the public with his person and estate, during the course of fifty years,—having never excused himself from any task which the good of his country imposed, however inconsistent it might be with his ease or his interest,—is it possible, that he should at once renounce this respected character, by meanly embezzling the public money? You shall now be informed by the witnesses, that I have not exaggerated in my account as to the sum of his expence. *The witnesses.* The whole then amounts nine talents and two thousand drachmas^y.

But besides all this, he portioned the sisters and daughters of many worthy citizens, who had been unfortunately reduced to poverty; others he ransomed from the enemy; and a third class, who had died in such poor circumstances as were insufficient for the charges of their funeral, he buried at his own expence. This he performed, regarding it as the duty of a good man, to bestow favours on his friends, though they should never be able to requite them; favours which could not even have been publickly known, if the witnesses were not now called to declare them. *The witnesses.* This is a noble testimony in his favour; though, for a short time, a man may conceal the natural depravity of his character, and impose

^y Nine talents amount to 1710 l.; let us suppose the rest of his expence, mentioned immediately after, to make up the 2000 l. He is said to have given a considerable portion to his daughters for a man of his fortune, though each of them had scarcely 130 l.; and the patrimony left to his son was scarce three times as much. What a surprising disproportion between these sums, and his donations to the public! If we consider the latter as taxes, which in fact they were, they must appear, when compared with the contributions under the severest modern governments, altogether enormous.

on the world by a false semblance of virtue ; yet never did any one continue a villain for seventy years, without being discovered and brought to shame. Let other artifices, then, be employed against my father, for surely his greatest enemies cannot accuse him of avarice.

It is your part, Athenians ! to give credit, not to malicious calumnies invented to deceive you, but to the virtues and character of my father, exhibited in the course of a long life. These are the principles upon which you ought to form your opinion in the present cause. If he had been as covetous as his enemies represent him, he would not have left so small an estate to his heir. For if, deceived by their malicious suggestions, you should now confiscate my whole property, you would not even receive the paltry sum of two talents ; and it is as much for your profit as for your honour, to acquit me of this groundless charge. If I am allowed to possess my small fortune, it will be employed more for the service of the state, than if it were conveyed into the exchequer. The whole of my past life, and the manner in which the greatest part of my father's property has been expended, are the most honourable pledges of my fidelity. With the little that remains, I now exercise the office of Trierarch, in which my father was employed at his death. Like him I will so husband my little stock, as to render it, however inconsiderable in itself, not an unseasonable supply to the public wants ; so that you shall be greater gainers allowing me to maintain my just rights, than by unjustly infringing them.

The public spirit of my father well deserves your attention. Whatever expences he incurred beyond those which were barely
necessary

necessary for his subsistence tended to promote the honour of his country. Having applied himself to the rearing and management of horses, he obtained the victory both in the Isthmian and Nemean games; for which he was crowned as conqueror, and the glory of Athens proclaimed. I intreat, that remembering this and other important services, you would now afford me your protection, and defend me against the unjust persecutions of my enemies. If this be the tendency of your decree, it will be as just in itself as advantageous to the state.

IN THE MATTER OF THE ESTATE OF

JOHN W. BROWN, DECEASED

VS.

THE BROWN TRUST

ADMINISTRATOR

VS.

THE BROWN TRUST

ADMINISTRATOR

VS.

THE BROWN TRUST

ADMINISTRATOR

VS.

THE BROWN TRUST

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VS.

THE BROWN TRUST

ADMINISTRATOR

VS.

THE BROWN TRUST

A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S,

I N

Defence of EUPHILETUS, accused of murdering ERA-
TOSTHENES, whom he had caught in the Act of
Adultery with his Wife.

H h h

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

WE have in this discourse the account of an Athenian intrigue. The relation is so clear and perspicuous, that no farther explanation can be desired; and there is not perhaps any monument of antiquity which gives us more complete information concerninge several interesting particulars in the Grecian manners.

A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S
I N

Defence of EUPHILETUS, accused of murdering ERATOSTHENES, whom he had caught in the Act of Adultery with his Wife.

IT would afford me the highest satisfaction, Athenians! if you were disposed to feel those sentiments on my account, which every one of you, placed in my situation, would feel for himself. There is not a man alive who brings my circumstances home to himself, and combines in one view the severity of my sufferings with the guilt of Eratosthenes, who will not deem every punishment that could be inflicted inadequate to both. In every state of Greece, under every government, whether aristocratical or free, this injury is equally the object of indignation; no distinction of rank or fortune is allowed to palliate its guilt; the proudest senator, in this particular case, is levelled with the meanest slave.

As to the atrocity of the crime, and the punishment which it deserves, you are neither so unprincipled nor so unfeeling as to stand in need of my information. But I must

H h h 2

prove,

prove, Athenians! that Eratosthenes seduced my wife, defiled my bed, violated my honour, and heaped infamy on my children. I must prove also, that the punishment which I inflicted on him proceeded neither from resentment, nor from a view to any private advantage, but merely to maintain inviolate the laws of this state. In my narrative nothing shall be omitted or misrepresented. When the truth equally coincides with our duty and our interest, you may ever expect to hear it.

When I first entered into the married state, Athenians! I endeavoured to observe a medium between the harsh severity of some husbands, and the easy fondness of others. My wife, though treated with kindness, was watched with attention. As a husband, I rendered her situation agreeable; but as a woman, she was left neither the entire mistress of *my* fortune, nor of *her own* actions. When she became a mother, this new endearment softened and overcame the prudent caution of my former conduct, and engaged me to repose in her an unlimited confidence. During a short time, Athenians! I had no occasion to repent of this alteration: she proved a most excellent wife; and, highly circumspect in her *private* behaviour, she managed *my* affairs with the utmost diligence and frugality. But since the death of my mother, she has been the cause of all my calamities. Then she first got abroad to attend the funeral, and being observed by Eratosthenes, was soon after seduced by him. This he effected by means of our female slave, whom he watched going to market, and whom, by fair promises and flattery, he drew over to his designs.

It is necessary you should be informed, Athenians! that my house consists of two floors; the floor above is laid out in a
similar

similar manner to that below; this lodges the men, that above is destined for the women. Upon the birth of our son, my wife suckled him herself; and to relieve her from the fatigue of going below stairs as often as it was necessary to bathe him, I yielded up the ground-floor to the women, and kept above stairs myself. She still continued, however, to sleep with me during the night; and when the child was peevish, and fell a-crying, she frequently went below stairs, and offered it the breast. This practice was long continued without the smallest suspicion on my part, who, simple man that I was! regarded my spouse as a prodigy of virtue.

Upon one occasion, Athenians! when I arrived unexpectedly from the country, the child, as we were going to bed after supper, began to fret and scream to a strange degree; pinched on purpose by the maid, who, as I afterwards came to learn, used to employ this artifice to draw my wife below stairs. At this time her gallant was in the house; and I, forwarding his designs, and hastening my own shame, desired her to go below, and endeavour to please the child. At first she seemed very unwilling to leave her husband, overjoyed at seeing him, after a few nights absence, returned in health from the country! But when I insisted, and even commanded her to begone, "Yes," said she, with a smile, "that you may again make love to the maid, as you lately did after your cups." With this she went out, shut the door, and, pursuing her joke, carried off the key. Pleased with her gaiety, and somewhat wearied, I disposed myself for sleep, without suspicion. By day-break she returned, and relieved me from my prison. Having heard the noise of the doors in the night, I inquired the reason of it, and was answered to my satisfaction, that her lamp having by accident
been

been extinguished, she had sent out the servant to light it. At the same time her face appeared to be painted, which, considering that her brother was not thirty days dead, might alone have been sufficient to give me just grounds of jealousy. But such was my confidence in her virtue, that even this circumstance excited no suspicion, and I walked out without further inquiries. A considerable time after, while I was still ignorant of my misfortunes, I was accosted, in the neighbourhood of my house, by an old woman, an utter stranger to me. This woman, as I have since learned, was employed by a married lady, whom Eratosthenes had debauched, and whose company he had now forsaken for that of my wife. Enraged at this neglect, she lay in wait to discover his new attachment, in order to obtain an opportunity of wrecking on him the full weight of her resentment. "Do not imagine," said the old woman to me, after the usual salutations, "do not imagine, Euphiletus, I am officious in thus addressing you. The same man that injures you is also my enemy. It is Eratosthenes of *Ææa*^a, a person of infamous character, and who has disturbed the quiet of more families than yours. This indeed may be called his profession. Inquire of your maid who goes to market; she can tell you the whole affair." At these words she went off, leaving me full of suspicion; for the circumstances crowded into my mind, that I was imprisoned in my chamber; that the doors had been opened in the night; and that my wife, contrary to all rules of modesty and decorum, had used paint within thirty days of her brother's death. Returning home, and desiring the maid to accompany me to market, I conducted her, for

^a This is the name of the ward or district of Attica to which Eratosthenes belonged.

privacy,

privacy, into the house of a friend, and let her know that I was informed of the disorder in my family. "You have this alternative then," said I, "either to be put to the question, and to have the truth extorted from you by violence, or to make a voluntary confession, and to receive pardon for the part you yourself may have acted." At first she took refuge in her impudence. "Do what you have a mind, I am innocent, and know nothing of the matter." But no sooner had I named Eratosthenes, than she, seized with confusion, and believing I had unveiled the whole mystery, threw herself at my feet, and, obtaining promise of pardon, began her confession. She declared, that Eratosthenes had first made up to her after my mother's burial, and, conquering all her difficulties and scruples, had persuaded her to become his messenger; that my wife had appointed the time and place of rendezvous; and that, on the festival of Ceres, she had accompanied the mother of Eratosthenes to the temple. Other circumstances she related with great exactness. Upon which I commanded her to keep a profound secret all that had passed between us; adding, that it was on this condition only I should observe the promise which she had obtained. "What I further require," said I, "is, that you shew me them in the fact; for, in a matter of this consequence, I am not to trust to declarations." This also she undertook; and from this time to the discovery there passed a few days, but I need only mention what happened the evening immediately preceding it.

Walking abroad after sunset, I met with Softratus, a particular acquaintance, just returned from the country. As I knew it was too late for him to find victuals at home, I invited him to sup with me. He agreed; we arrive, and sup above stairs.

†

After

After a hearty supper, he returned home, and I went to sleep. He was scarcely gone, when the servant came to inform me that Eratosthenes was below. I stole out, with as little noise as possible, in order to alarm my friends in the neighbourhood; but, unfortunately, some of them were in the country, others abroad, and I was obliged to carry along with me indiscriminately whomsoever I could find. Being arrived, we procured torches at the neighbouring inn, and by means of the servant entered the house without noise. Those of us who were foremost, driving open the door of the bed-chamber, saw him in bed with my wife, and those who followed saw him standing in it naked. In the first emotions of my resentment, I struck him to the ground, and tying his hands behind his back, demanded why he thus insulted me, by basely entering my house. He acknowledged his guilt; he insisted and entreated that I would not put him to death, but receive a compensation in money. "It is not I who put you to death, I replied, but the laws of your country, which you have violated, preferring to them a momentary pleasure, and choosing rather to heap this infamy on my wife and children, than to behave like a man of worth, and yield obedience to the laws." Thus, Athenians! was he punished according to his demerit, not dragged from the road, not torn from the hearth, as my accusers absurdly pretend. For how is it possible? His hands were tied behind; after the first stroke he fell down in the chamber; a great many persons were there present; and he had neither club nor dagger to favour his escape. But you need not be informed, Athenians! that those who cannot excuse their own guilt, will endeavour to traduce the character of their opponents, and be ever ready, by false pleas and calumny, to blind

blind and deceive their judges. Read the law. *The law is read.* That his conduct, Athenians! fell within the meaning of this law, is evident from his confession. He acknowledged his guilt, he sued for mercy, and offering money, begged his life. But I, Athenians! more attentive to the order of society, than to any motive of private interest, inflicted that punishment which the law requires. And let the witnesses now be examined. The allegations being thus proved, you will attend also to that law of the Areopagus. *The law is read.* You observe, then, Athenians! that this court, which from the earliest times has exercised the criminal jurisdiction, declares in the most express terms, that a husband, putting to death an adulterer, found in the fact, is not guilty of murder. The lawgiver, far from thinking this punishment too high in the case of wives, has appointed it even in that of concubines, who are of much less estimation^b. If the husband, therefore, finding an adulterer with his wife, could inflict on him a punishment still severer than that of death, he would be authorised in doing so, by the law: but death, being the last of punishments, it is appointed for two crimes of unequal atrocity; because, though the lesser deserves it, no higher penalty can be inflicted on the greater. Read also this law. *The law is read.* You find it declared then, Athenians! that if any one disgrace, by violence, a free man or a boy, he

^b Concubinage was at all times permitted in Greece. The women who submitted to it were not always captives taken in war, or bought with a price; but sometimes even the poorer sort of freewomen or citizens, who, having no portion, could not enter into marriage, as the bringing of a dower was reckoned an essential condition of that contract. Plaut. Trinum.

shall be punished by a fine. If he violate in the same manner a married woman, he may be put to death when caught in the fact; otherwise he is only to be fined. But if a man seduce a married woman, the law considers him as far more criminal, and in every case punishes him with death. And surely this decision is well founded. The ravisher has only defiled her body; the mind remains untainted; he is held in abhorrence even by herself. But the seducer has extended his iniquity to her heart and affections; he has alienated them from her husband; he has got into his power the whole property of his neighbour, and even rendered him uncertain as to the legitimacy of his children. Thus, Athenians! I am not only authorised, but even commanded by the law, to act the part which I have chosen. If you support the law, you must justify my conduct; by condemning me, you invalidate the law. For my part, Athenians! I think that laws have every where been established to serve as a rule of conduct, to which, in all doubtful cases, men might have recourse for information. This is their decision against adultery; on them my actions have been founded, and them it is your duty to support. If not, the road is henceforth so open for this crime, that even thieves, sheltering themselves under the protected name of adulterers, may safely enter into our houses, and rifle our effects. For the laws must lose their authority, when uninforced by your decrees, Athenians! which alone can arm them with terror.

I have been accused of giving orders to my servant, to decoy the young man, that night, into my house. Admitting it, am I blameable in using every method to get into my power the seducer of my wife! Am I blameable in bringing him

once,

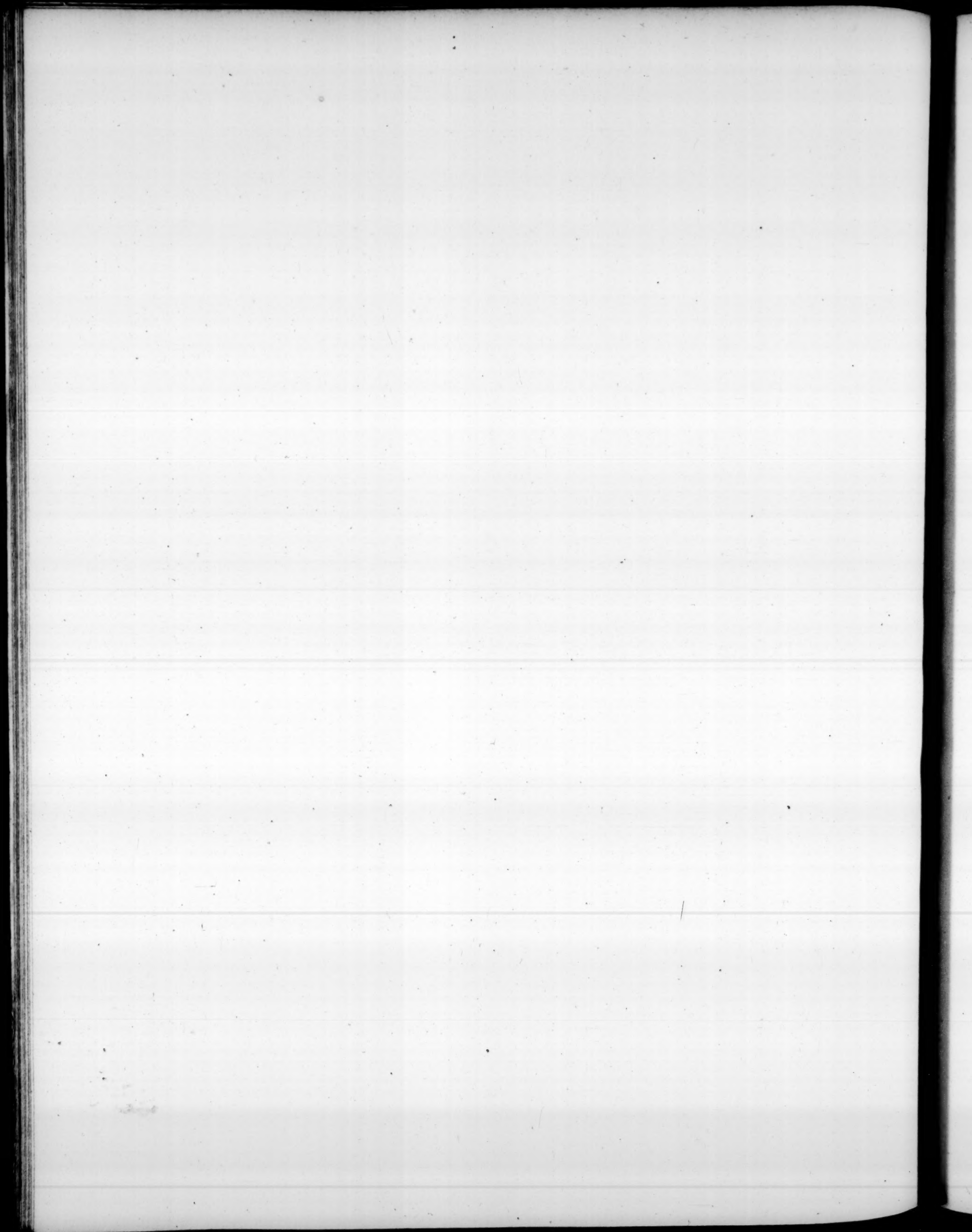
once, for *my* satisfaction, where he had come so often for his own? If indeed, before the consummation of his guilt and of my disgrace, I had decoyed him, upon false suspicions, into my house—if I had trusted to vain reports, and not to undoubted facts—the measure, I acknowledge, would have been inconsiderate and culpable. But his guilt was complete; the evidence was convincing; nothing remained but to punish him; yet how to carry this into effect, I had not even considered. You will be convinced of it on the smallest reflection. It has been already mentioned, that on the same evening I met with Sostratus, a particular acquaintance; that I invited him to supper; and that afterwards he returned home. Had I lain in wait for Eratosthenes, would I have baffled my own designs, by inviting company to sup with me? I should rather have taken Sostratus any where else to sup, than to my own house, because his presence might have prevented Eratosthenes's arrival. Again, why did I allow my guests to retire? I chose to be alone and friendless, while I might have enjoyed the company of Sostratus, who, from his regard to me, would have remained, and taken vengeance on the adulterer! Surely, Athenians! I am the most wretched contriver in the world. Having neither informed my friends, nor assembled them in the neighbourhood (than which nothing could have been more easy), I was obliged, when I understood that Eratosthenes was within, to run about among them in the night-time. Some of those I inquired for were abroad; Armodius and another were in the country; and I carried along with me indiscriminately such persons as fell in my way. But had I known, Athenians! what was to happen that night, I should not only have assembled my friends as witnesses, but armed them for defence.

fence. This precaution would have been prudent, for how could I be assured that the adulterer had not a weapon? These facts may be learned from the witnesses. *The witnesses are examined.*

Consider, Athenians! that I had no former cause of resentment against Eratosthenes. He had never been my accuser; he had never attempted to drive me from my country; we had never been engaged in any private litigation, nor had he been my accomplice in any secret crime, to prevent the discovery of which I might have desired his death. We were so far from ever having any altercation, in consequence of raillery, or over our cups, that on that night I saw him for the first time. But why should I have exposed myself to so much danger, if I had not been so shamefully insulted? Why should I have sought for witnesses, if I had intended to put him unjustly to death; especially, since he gave me too many opportunities of doing it more privately? The vengeance I took, Athenians! was not only in behalf of myself, but of you. It is by exertions of just severity alone, that villains are deterred from their crimes. If you are of a different opinion, rescind those laws which guard the chastity of our wives, and enact new laws in favour of adultery. This will be more equitable, than that the citizens should be ensnared by the laws. These ordain, that an adulterer, caught in the fact, be given up to the resentment of the husband; and I stand endangered in my life, liberty, and fortune, for having yielded them obedience.

THE
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS
IN

Defence of a CITIZEN accused of giving a Wound
from Malice aforethought.



I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THIS crime, as Lyfias elfewhere explains it^a, confifted in giving a man a wound with intention of putting him to death. “ Without this intention, he fays, there could be no deliberate malice or defign; for the law fupposes no man to be of fo mean and filly a character, as to lay fnares merely for bruifing or maiming his adverfary.” The enormity of the intention rendered the giving of fuch a wound, however flight, an offence againft the ftate itfelf; every citizen had a right to profecute it, and the criminal was punifhed with banifhment or death.

The perfon whom Lyfias defends againft an accusation of fo heinous a nature, had, in conjunction with another citizen, ransomed an Athenian woman from the enemy. According to the barbarous ideas of the age, the prifoner, fo ransomed, became the flave of the ransomers. They determined to avail themfelves of this right, and to retain her as a common property. A quarrel, however, happened afterwards between them; they are again reconciled; and agree to their former refolution. But not long after, the defendant being intoxicated with liquor, went to the houfe of his accufer, wounded him in a fcuffle, and carried off the flave. This wound, Lyfias affirms, could not be given from malice, as their differences had already been adjusted; and as the instru-

^a Lyfias againft Simon.

432 INTRODUCTION TO LYSIAS'S ORATION.

ment made use of, was not a weapon by which death could easily be inflicted. He endeavours to make out the same point by other observations and reasonings, no less dishonourable to the manners, than to the laws of Athens.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIAS,
IN

Defence of a CITIZEN accused of giving a Wound
from Malice aforethought.

IT is wonderful, O Senators! he should pretend, that we had not settled our differences; and though it be impossible for him to deny his restoring the cart, the slaves, and whatever else belonging to me he had before received from the country, he should yet persist in averring falsehoods about this strumpet whom we agreed to possess as a common property. For the whole transaction was brought about chiefly on her account; nor could we have treated in so amicable a manner, had not our common friends thoroughly reconciled us. So entirely, indeed, was our disagreement at an end, that I endeavoured to make him be appointed judge in the festival of Bacchus, that the renewal of our friendship might become public, by his adjudging the victory to my tribe. With these views he declared himself a candidate, but failed of success. Philinus and Diocles know I speak the

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truth;

truth; and were they not disqualified * for bearing witness in this trial, by having omitted to take the customary oath, you might be informed by them, that I exerted myself in his interest, and that on my account he intended to accept the office of judge.

But granting I was his enemy (for I give up this point as less material), does it follow that I entered his house by violence, and attempted to kill him? Let him explain why I did not kill him, when I had him so completely in my power, as to carry off his mistress. Every one is sensible he might have been more readily dispatched with a dagger than with the fist; yet he does not accuse me of attacking him with a weapon, but pretends that he was struck with a potsherd. It is already evident, then, that there could be *no malice* in the case; for we should not otherwise have come thus unprepared, it being uncertain that we might find a potsherd in his house, or that, by such an uncommon instrument of destruction, we might be enabled to effect his murder.

It is acknowledged we were in liquor, and accompanied with boys and singers—Does this betoken any premeditated design against an enemy? It is impossible to believe it. But so unreasonable is his behaviour, that he pretends to retain the price, while he keeps the girl. Then, at her instigation, he behaves

* According to the form of judicial process at Athens, the plaintiff was obliged to swear, that he would bring no unjust accusation; and, if the crime was of a public nature, that he would not be tempted by bribes or promises, or any other prospect of advantage, to desist from the prosecution. The defendant also was obliged to swear, that his answer should be just and true. The oaths of both plaintiff and defendant, though distinguished by a particular name, yet, as forming a step in the judicial procedure, were denominated by a common term; which being the same that Lysias here applies to the witnesses, seems to prove, that they also were required to take a previous oath, the neglecting of which excluded them ever after from giving evidence in the cause.

with

with insolence, and offers to strike, while I stand on the defensive; and she, pretending affection to each alternately, endeavours to secure the favour of both. Such was my moderation from the beginning, and such it still continues. But he, under the guidance of his unhappy genius, is not ashamed to call a bloody nose *a wound from malice*; to be carried about in a litter; to pretend to be miserably afflicted at the loss of a prostitute, whom, upon refunding the money I have expended, he may enjoy without a rival.

As to the plot against his life, had any such plot existed, he might have obtained sufficient evidence by putting the woman to the torture. But this he declined; though she alone could best explain, whose property she was; whether I paid half her ransom; whether we were reconciled, or at variance; whether I came by invitation to his house; and whether he did not offer violence to me before I lifted my hand against him. By her evidence, I say, all this might have been discovered: I therefore entreat, that, whatever advantage would result to him from my declining her testimony, the same, from his refusal, may be allowed to me.

Nor is it reasonable to listen to the pretence of her being free-born; her freedom is equally my concern, who paid half her ransom; and it would be strange indeed, if, while in danger of being expelled my country, I could not extort the truth from her whom I have purchased, and whose submission in every respect I have a right to command. And, surely, with more justice may she be put to the question on account of this process, than be exposed to sale, because delivered from the enemy; from whom, as they were willing to ransom her, she might, by various means, have obtained her liberty. But no ransom can

K k k 2

prevail

prevail on our mortal foes, who desire not our wealth, but rejoice in our exile. Admit not, therefore, this pretence, in which he triumphs, that she is free-born; but rather declare him a slanderer, who, rejecting the easiest means of discovering the truth, has thus artfully attempted to deceive you.

Nor ought you to regard the appeal to his servants, whom he gives up to the torture, as more credible than the evidence which I have offered. What they could say of the matter, is granted on both sides—but whether we came by desire;—whether I was the first to offer violence;—is what she alone can declare. Besides, his servants might either through ignorance mistake the truth, or through partiality pervert it. But she was our common property, and being interested in the whole transaction, no circumstance could escape her attention. If there is any danger from her evidence, it is on my side; me she injured—with regard to him she is blameless: Yet I desire her testimony, while he rejects it. You ought not, therefore, O Senators! too hastily to credit his report; but considering that my country and my life are at stake, receive that evidence of which the subject admits, and be satisfied. It is with good reason, O Senators! that I am uneasy at being exposed to such danger for a prostitute and a slave. What evil have I committed against the state, or this accuser? Which of the citizens have I injured? My character is well known, and the envy of those whom it reproaches has alone occasioned this accusation. In the name of your children and wives, and the Gods, protectors of this country! I supplicate your pity; throw me not into the hands of my enemy, nor involve me in endless calamities. I have not merited banishment from my country; nor ought the false pretences of this accuser to subject me to so dreadful a punishment.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIA S,
IN

Defence of a CITIZEN, accused by SIMON of giving
him a Wound from Malice aforethought.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THIS Oration is the more interesting, having been spoken before the court of Areopagus. The subject to which it relates, as well as the manner in which it is handled, proves the shocking and universal depravity of the most improved people of Greece. The reasoning, though subtle, is clear, and the language rather severe than elegant ; but both well adapted to the manly taste and nice discernment of the judges to whom they are addressed.

The Areopagus being the court of highest dignity in Athens, and that which not only declared the laws, but regulated the manners, and inspected the lives of the citizens; we may consider every thing said before it as the voice of the state itself. Nothing deemed licentious (according to the ideas of that age), or contrary to good manners, could be admitted there. This renders the pleadings before that court the most undoubted evidence of the sentiments and character of the Athenians^d.

^d See Archbishop Potter's *Archæologia*, vol. i. c. 26.; and vol. ii. c. 9.

A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S
I N

Defence of a CITIZEN, accused by SIMON of giving
him a Wound from Malice aforethought.

THOUGH long acquainted with the peculiar profligacy
of Simon's character, I could never have suspected him
to be so audacious as to affirm, with the most solemn oaths,
before this respectable tribunal, that he has suffered from me
those very injuries which he is conscious of having himself
inflicted. But had his complaint been brought before any
other judges, I should be still more unhappy. I know the
effect of the preparations and chicane which too often prevail
in courts of justice; and am not ignorant of the many unfore-
seen accidents to which a defendant is exposed. From you,
however, O Senators! I have no danger to fear; your candour
emboldens me to expect a fair and equitable decision. What
alone gives me pain is, that in the course of this defence, I shall
be obliged to descend into many particulars, which are un-
worthy of you to hear, and of me to describe; particulars

which I should rather have buried in eternal silence, than submit to the ridicule of relating before a numerous audience, had not Simon, to complete his wrongs, subjected me to the cruel necessity of encountering the public scorn. Compelled as I am, by his malice, to undertake a disagreeable task, I shall execute it with fidelity and truth. If convicted of the crime laid to my charge, I shall solicit no protection, crave no favour; but, should I fully justify myself against the false imputations of my accuser, I entreat, that, though the simplicity of my attachment should appear inconsistent with the gravity of my years, you may not allow this circumstance to lower me in your esteem. To feel is common to all; but he is truly great who bears his misfortunes with patience and fortitude. That Simon has afforded me an opportunity of exercising these virtues, will appear from what I shall briefly relate.

We were rivals, O Senators! for the friendship of Theodotus, a youth of Plataea. I sought to obtain his favour by good offices; but Simon, in a preposterous manner, endeavoured to extort it by force. It would be tedious for me to describe all that the youth suffered from his violence; but his injuries against myself it is proper you should hear. Being informed that Theodotus had come one evening to my house, he arrived there drunk in the night; and, having forced open the doors, violently thrust himself into the women's apartment, regardless of the presence of my sister and her daughters, whose manners were so modest and reserved, that, without blushing, they could not even meet the looks of our slaves. Those who had accompanied him in this frantic expedition, drunk as they were, at length began to be shocked at his
brutality;

brutality; and reflecting on the gross impropriety of his thus intruding upon free women and maids, forcibly dragged him from the house.

But Simon, far from repenting of this insult, having discovered where Theodotus and I were at supper, fell upon a contrivance the most absurd and unaccountable, and which, if you were not already acquainted with his madness, would altogether exceed belief. He called me out, threatened and attempted to beat me, and when I prepared to defend myself, he stepped aside, and began to pelt me with stones. He fortunately missed his aim at me, but broke Aristocritus's head, who had accompanied him; but, however provoked at these indignities, O Senators! I thought it most prudent to conceal my disgrace. By seeking redress, I must have exposed myself to the contempt of my fellow-citizens; for though it was consistent with his character to commit such injuries, it was unworthy of mine to receive them; and if I had exposed my misfortunes to public view, I must have submitted to the sneer of those who delight in the calamities of every citizen, whose regular mode of life is a reproach to their own licentiousness.

I hesitated, at first, what measures to pursue in order to prevent future insults; and at length resolved upon voluntary banishment. Accompanied by Theodotus (for I will conceal no part of the truth), I retired from Athens, and returned not hither, until I imagined that Simon had leisure to repent of his past conduct, and totally to forget the sentiments which had occasioned it.

No sooner was he informed of our arrival, than he began to conspire against Theodotus. He hired a house

in the neighbourhood of that belonging to Lyfimachus, where the youth commonly lodged; and having invited his friends to dinner, and intoxicated them with wine, he placed centinels at his door with injunctions to seize Theodotus as as soon as he appeared. When his measures had been thus concerted, I returned by accident from the Pireum, and, in passing, called upon Lyfimachus. After a short visit, I walked out with Theodotus. Then Simon and his company, though intoxicated with liquor, yet intent on their purpose, violently set upon us. The wisest of them, indeed, declined joining in the assault; but Simon, with Theophilus, Protarchus and Antocles, endeavoured to lay hold of Theodotus, who escaped by running off, and leaving his cloak in their hands. I imagined they could not overtake him; and that as soon as they met any passenger on the road, they would, through shame, desist from the pursuit. I therefore went a different way, desirous by every method to avoid a squabble, which I was sensible must at all events have disgraced me: and in that place where the libel asserts the fray to have happened, Simon was neither wounded on the head, nor did he receive any other injury, as will appear by the testimony of those who were present. *The witnesses.* You hear then, O Senators! that it was not I who laid snares for him, but he who assaulted me.—Theodotus afterwards escaped to a fuller's shop, from which Simon dragged him by violence, piteously lamenting his fate, and appealing to the justice of the spectators. The number of these augmenting, they began to take compassion on the youth, and to shew resentment against the assailants, who, insensible to shame, and stubborn in villany, beat not only Molon the fuller, but several
3 others

others who attempted to rescue the unhappy victim. Having thus obtained the victory, and carried off their prize, I again happened to fall in with them, as they were passing the house of Lampon. Though alone, I thought it unworthy of me to see the youth thus lawlessly insulted before my eyes, and I determined to relieve him. I asked them what reason they could give for their violence; they answered me by blows. This was the signal for the contest. Theodotus disentangling himself, pelted them with stones; I repelled the attack made on myself; the spectators took part with the injured; and in this brawl all of us had our heads broken.

When Simon's accomplices had leisure to reflect on their past conduct, they sincerely repented of it; and, the first opportunity, confessed their fault, and entreated my forgiveness. From that time, four years are elapsed, during which, Simon, far from offering any accusation against me, has lived in dread of the penalties of law. Perceiving, however, that I had lately been cast in another action, and had the misfortune to incur your displeasure, he has assumed new courage, and unseasonably brought against me this groundless complaint. I assert nothing but what the witnesses will confirm. *The witnesses.*

I have now related the true state of the affair; and the witnesses have confirmed my report. I should be glad that Simon were as much disposed to confess the truth; you would then be enabled to determine this cause without farther trouble. But as candour is not to be expected from a man who is as regardless of truth, as of the oath which he has taken to declare

it, I must still proceed to prove, that it is impossible his assertions should be true. He pretends, that after he had paid Theodotus three hundred drachmas, the youth was artfully seduced by me from his attachment. Had this been the case, the law was open for Simon; he had a clear action against me; and having proved, by legal evidence, the manifest injury he had received, he might have obtained the most complete reparation. But instead of seeking redress in the manner pointed out by justice, he threatens, beats, and insults us: breaks open my doors; riotously enters into my house; intrudes upon maids and free-women; and during the tranquillity of night, occasions a violent uproar in my family. This conduct, surely, belies his assertions.

Consider, how awkwardly the rest of his story hangs together. He gave three hundred drachmas to Theodotus, and he acknowledges that his whole income amounts only to two hundred and fifty. Nor is he satisfied with saying, that he gave the money, but, supporting one falsehood by another, pretends likewise, to have again received it. This is, however, if possible, still more absurd than the rest. For after we had suffered so many insults to avoid restoring the three hundred drachmas, is it likely, that we should afterwards voluntarily have returned him this money? But the whole is a trumped-up story in order to deceive you. He pretends to have given the money, the better to palliate his assault upon Theodotus; and he acknowledges the recovery of it, because he is sensible of having neither writing nor witnesses to prove that ever it was given.

Again, he alleges, that I severely beat him before his own door: But I have proved, that he pursued Theodotus to above
half

half a mile's distance from it, and was seen running by above two hundred persons, who observed on him no marks of violence. He pretends also, that I came to his house, threatened to put him to death, and struck him with a potsherd. This is the *wound from malice*, which forms the ground of his present action against me. I am persuaded, however, that not only you, O Senators! who are acquainted with the nature of evidence, and capable of discovering the truth in cases of the greatest intricacy, but every man of common understanding must perceive the absurdity of this allegation. If I had entertained the criminal intention of putting Simon to death, would I have fought him in his own house, in open day, and encircled by his friends? I must have been mad indeed, to trust myself unarmed and alone, amidst a crowd of enemies; and voluntarily expose myself to the violence of a man, who had broken through every law in order to insult me. Did he not force his way into my house, enter into the women's apartment, and with unheard-of insolence call me forth from the company of my friends? On this occasion, as you have been already informed, I considered his insolence as my own misfortune, and rather than appear in a ridiculous light to my fellow-citizens, patiently endured it. But afterwards, it seems, I abandoned this peaceable system, and by coming to Simon's house to strike him with a potsherd, now proved myself desirous to meet that contempt which I had before been so solicitous to avoid. If Theodotus, indeed, had been in his house, when it is pretended that I came there, I might possibly have transgressed the rules of my usual moderation, and Simon's pretence would rest on some shadow of probability. But the youth is not said to have been there; nor had
he

he the smallest communication with him; for of all mankind, he detested him the most. We had transported ourselves from the city to avoid the injuries of Simon, and as soon as we return to it, we repair to his house to find him. This is equally consistent with the rest of the contrivance. Intending to put my adversary to death, I come to his house without friends or assistants, accompanied only by Theodotus, whose years disqualified him for being of any material service to me in the execution of my design, though not for being put to the torture, and bearing evidence of any injury which I might commit. Nor did I seek to find Simon alone, or in the night; but at mid-day, in the company of his friends, who seize and beat me. If there was any *malice aforethought*, or design, in my whole conduct, it must have been directed, not to the wounding of my adversary, but against my own person.

By what happened in the fray itself, it is easy to discover his falsehood. Theodotus no sooner got rid of the assailants, than, leaving his garment, he betook himself to flight. And is it natural to regard those who fly as the aggressors, or those who pursue? Are such as seek to avoid an injury to be condemned, and not those who endeavour to inflict it? This is no specious reasoning, but founded on fact. The witnesses have proved, that Theodotus was dragged from the road, and carried off by force; as for me, that I anxiously avoided being concerned in the squabble, took a different road, and again falling in with the rioters, and interceding for my friend, was rudely beat and insulted. Strange indeed! that my prudent conduct should end in this cruel treatment. If the affair had happened contrary to what the witnesses have represented, if having really
laid

laid snares for Simon, I had attacked and wounded him ; in that case, to what calamities must I have been exposed, when even, at present, after suffering so much from private malice, I am still in danger of public vengeance; when I am exposed to be driven from my country, and my whole property is at stake?

But what is most remarkable in this transaction is, that Simon, after being not only deluded by my artifice, but insulted by my violence, should for four whole years maintain an uninterrupted silence. During all that time, he brought no complaint against me. The resentment of another man on such an occasion, would have broken out at once. After being injured in so delicate a point, and when the injury had been heightened by every circumstance which could render it painful, he would no longer have kept any measures with his enemy. But Simon feels not like other men; he is excluded from that object which he most desired to possess; he is attacked and insulted, and yet under all those injuries, remains, during four years, in a state of calm insensibility.

I am persuaded, O senators! that I have not only justified myself, but proved that I was entitled to accuse my adversary. Yet such is my temper, that though I had the clearest action against him, I was unwilling on such an occasion to make use of it; the subject of the contest appeared too slight and inconsiderable, to give rise to a prosecution for banishing my fellow-citizen from his country. Nor did I ever imagine, that the law regarded any wound as *from malice aforethought*, which had not been given with intention to murder. Who could be so contemptible as previously to deliberate about giving his
enemy

enemy a wound? The law supposes nobody capable of this excess of meanness. It punishes with banishment, not those who in a moment of temporary frenzy break one another's heads, (else how many must be driven from their country?) but such as wound a fellow-citizen with a deliberate intention of depriving him of his life. Though the villain has not accomplished his design, he is justly punished for having contrived it. This is the spirit of your laws; and thus have you often interpreted them. And surely it would be cruel indeed to banish a man from his country on account of a drunken squabble, an instance of silly obstinacy about some frivolous object, a senseless love quarrel, or other ridiculous dispute, of which every man of sense, upon sober reflection, is ashamed.

Simon, by this cause, has given us an opportunity of admiring the singularity of a character, which unites two dispositions, commonly deemed incompatible. It is the part of a simple good-natured man to be a lover; and a sycophant is a synonymous term with a cruel abandoned villain. But here we see the weakness of love united with the wickedness of revenge. Were I permitted, O Senators! to give a full account of this man's behaviour, you would be convinced, that, instead of prosecuting others, he ought at this moment to be standing trial for his life. I shall offer but one specimen of his character, which you will not refuse to hear, as it is an exact parallel to the audacity which he has discovered in the present prosecution. After the engagement at Corinth, he joined the army, when there was no longer occasion for his service. Yet scarcely had he arrived, when assuming a superiority over his fellow-soldiers, he quarrelled with his captain Laches, and
I
even

even beat him; on which account he was dismissed from the service with disgrace. I could say more on the same subject, were I permitted, before this tribunal, to mention any particulars not immediately connected with the libel. But you need only consider, that Simon broke into my house, pursued, and dragged us from the road. Remembering these outrages, you can never permit me, through the artifices of a base accuser, to be banished from my country; a country, in the service of which, I have spared neither person nor estate; for which I have cheerfully incurred every expence, and encountered every danger; and towards which the behaviour of my forefathers has ever been irreproachable. I am entitled therefore to your pity and protection, not only for being exposed to the vengeance of an enraged adversary, but because I have been compelled to descend to a refutation of such an ignominious charge.

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A CAUTION

Every man who is not a member of the
Society of Friends, is hereby warned
that if he should attempt to join
the same, he will be liable to
excommunication, and will be
debarred from all the privileges
of the Society.

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A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S

On an Indictment against DIOGEITON.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

IN this discourse, Diogeiton is accused of defrauding his own grandchildren. The charge is fully proved, and with such circumstances as tend to aggravate its enormity. Many things are mentioned in the course of the pleading, which throw light on the manners and character of the Athenians. They who discovered so little humanity in political contentions, weeped like children at the cruelty of Diogeiton. In this discourse, we may also observe the reserved behaviour of the Athenian women; the immense profits of commerce in that age; and the extraordinary cheapness of living in Athens.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIA S,

On an Indictment against DIOGEITON.

IF the subject of this dispute, Athenians! were a matter of little moment, I should not have advised the claimants to trouble you on this occasion; for nothing surely can be more disgraceful, than a lawsuit between persons so nearly related. It not only dishonours those who commit wrongs, but even lowers in the public esteem those who seem too forward to resent them. Yet as this destitute and unhappy family have sought protection in me, their kinsman, against the unnatural cruelty of their own grandfather, by whom they have been deprived of their whole fortune, and reduced to beggary and ruin, I thought myself bound to compensate the worthlessness of one relation by the services of another, and to offer them every assistance in my power. At first, however, both for their sakes and for my own (for I am married to *their* sister, who is also the grand-

grand-daughter of Diogeiton) I used my endeavours to make the parties submit their differences to arbitrators, sincerely desirous they might never become public. But Diogeiton, although the proofs of his villany were incontravertible, disregarded every proposal of reconciliation ; and as he still prefers to submit to the dangers of a judicial process, rather than reform his past conduct, and remove the just grounds of this dishonourable complaint, I request, that if I shall convict him of having so treated his own grandchildren as no one ought to deal with his enemies, you will afford them that redress which they demand ; if I fail in this point, repose your confidence in Diogeiton, and let me ever lose your esteem. The matter happened as follows.

Diodotus and Diogeiton were brothers, by the same father and mother. Upon the death of their parents, they divided the moveable property, but cultivated the land in common. Diodotus also applied himself to commerce, by which, having realized a handsome fortune, he was persuaded by Diogeiton, to take in marriage his only daughter, and his own niece. Of this marriage there are two sons and a daughter. Diodotus, several years after his marriage, being summoned by Thra-syllus to join the army as a foot soldier, sent for his wife, who was also his niece, and for her father, his full brother, and both the uncle and grandfather of his children ; and thinking that, on account of all these connexions, Diogeiton was the most proper person to be guardian to his children, he gave him his testament, and deposited with him five talents of silver. He showed him also, that he had put out at interest seven talents and forty minæ, and that there were a thousand drachmas

drachmas owing him in Chersonesus. He then acquainted him, that if he himself should be unfortunate in the expedition, it was his will to leave his wife and daughter each a talent, and besides that, twenty minæ and thirty staters to the latter. Having thus settled his affairs, and exchanged duplicates with his brother, he went to accompany Thrasyllus, and not long after his departure, died at Ephesus. Diogeiton, concealing this event from his wife, opened the seal of the papers which were left with him, pretending that the contents had been given him in order to purchase certain foreign commodities for Diodotus. But, at length, the death of his brother became public, the accustomed rites were paid to his memory, and Diogeiton with his family still remained a full year in the Pireum, where all their provisions had been stored up. But no sooner did these begin to fail, than he sent the children to the city, and gave their mother in marriage with a portion of five thousand drachmas, which is one thousand less than her husband had left her. Eight years afterwards, the eldest of the children having arrived at manhood, Diogeiton called both of them, and declared their father had only left them twenty minæ of silver, and thirty staters. "I have long maintained you, said he, at my own expence, and whilst I was able, you were welcome; now my circumstances are changed; do you, therefore, who have reached man's estate, consider how to provide for yourself." Hearing these things, they were confounded, and in tears returned to their mother, with whom they came to me, piteously afflicted with their misfortunes, and miserably baffled of their hopes; lamenting, and entreating me not to permit them to be deprived of their father's fortune, reduced to beggary, and in-

sulted by their kinsman, but to protect them for their sisters sake, and their own. It is impossible to conceive the impression which that melancholy scene occasioned in my family. The mother insisted that I should convene her father and friends; saying, that though she had never been accustomed to speak in the presence of men, yet the weight of her present misfortunes would oblige her to disburden her mind. I went immediately to complain of this affair to Hegemon, who had married Diogeiton's daughter by a second wife. I waited also on the other friends of the family to desire their presence; and advised Diogeiton to prepare to defend himself against so grievous an accusation. At first he refused to appear, but was afterwards with difficulty prevailed on by his friends to give attendance. When we were assembled, she asked him what could be his intention in dealing so cruelly with the children: "You who are the brother of their father, my father, their uncle and grandfather; if you had no respect for the sentiments of mankind, you ought to have dreaded the Gods. You received in deposit five talents at your brother's departure; of the truth of which I am ready, in any place you think proper, to make oath, in the presence of my children. Nor am I of such an avaricious disposition, as for the sake of money, to die imprecating vengeance on my own children, or endeavouring unjustly to deprive my father of his wealth." She also convicted him of having received the bills for seven talents and three thousand drachmas; and of this she produced a written account, of which she had obtained possession by an accident: for as the slaves were removing her furniture from Colyttus to the house of Phædrus, the boys happened to find a small book, which had been left behind, and which contained this account; and they had brought it to their mother.

She proved likewise, that he had got security for an hundred minæ lent at interest; that he had procured from his brother another sum of two thousand drachmas, and household-furniture to a considerable amount; and that, in payment of money advanced by his brother, he received an annual freight of corn from Chersonesus. "And you, who obtained possession of all this property only for the benefit of the children,—those very children, born of your own daughter, have you driven in rags from your house, without shoes, attendant, covering, garments; without any part of those conveniencies which their father left them, or any share of that wealth which he entrusted to your care. Yet you bring up the children of my stepmother in wealth and splendour; nor should I complain, did you not injure mine, expelling them disgracefully your house; and, though amply provided for by their father, reducing them to beggary and distress: in such a conduct neither reverencing the Gods, nor respecting me your daughter; remembering not your brother and benefactor, but sacrificing every connexion to the gratification of a sordid passion." Many wonderful and pathetic expressions, O Judges! were on this occasion employed by the woman; and all present were so much affected at what she said, and so enraged against the crimes of Diogeiton, that seeing the misery of the children, remembering their father, and reflecting how difficult it is to find a man truly faithful even among the nearest relations, they were unable to speak, and mingling tears with the sufferers, returned home in silence. Let this be proved by the witnesses. *The witnesses.*

I entreat you, O Judges! seriously to reflect on these circumstances; you will then extend your pity to the calamities of the children, and regard their oppressor as an object of public

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hatred and resentment. Diogeiton's conduct tends to set all mankind at variance; to dissolve the dearest ties; to excite hatred and suspicion where confidence ought most to prevail; and to leave us at our death no more hopes of remembrance or affection from our nearest relations, than from our greatest enemies. At first he denied the facts laid to his charge; and when afterwards compelled to confess them, he had no excuse, but the pretence of having expended, during the course of eight years, in the maintenance of two boys and a girl, the sum of seven talents of silver, and five thousand drachmas. At a loss, however, how to make out this account, he reckons five oboli a-day for delicacies. As for shoes, hair-dressing, and cleaning clothes*, he kept no monthly or annual account, but computes, that, in all, they cost him above a talent. He expended five-and-twenty minæ in erecting a monument to the memory of their father, and the half of this too he places to their account. For sixteen drachmas he bought a lamb for the festival of Bacchus, the half of which expence he states to the children. Though this is but a small circumstance, it evidently discovers his villany. In the other festivals and sacrifices he expended for the children four thousand drachmas, and other sums in such abundance, that he appears to have been appointed their manager in order to give them figures† instead of money, to make them poor instead of rich, and to turn that resentment which they owed the enemies of their father, against the man who had deprived them of their father's fortune. Had he acted, however, as the law enjoins, he

* The Greeks, not making use of linen, gave much employment to fullers.

† Γραμμάτια αυτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων. The original words signify *letters instead of money*, and prove that Lysias did not always avoid the *cliquant* when it fell in his way.

might have let their house for a considerable sum; or, laying out their money in land, have maintained them with the produce; in either of these cases, they would now be in as affluent circumstances as any of their fellow-citizens^e. But it is plain that he did not wish to make their wealth more conspicuous by converting it into land, as this would only have defeated his own interested schemes. And, what is of all most striking, when appointed to equip a galley in company with Alexides, son of Aristodicus, he pretends to have laid out forty-eight minæ, of which the one half is stated to the orphans, though the law exempts not only children from all public burdens, but even those who have not arrived at more than one year above the age of majority. But, more severe than the law, their grandfather exacted from his own descendants the half of that expence to which he alone was obliged to submit. He sent also a trading ship to Adria with the value of two talents, and declared to his daughter, that it was at the risk of her children; but when it had not only returned in safety, but doubled the value of its cargo, he appropriated the gain to himself. By such conduct it is easy to give accounts, and to amass riches at the expence of others. But it is impossible, O Judges! to give a full detail of his villany; for I had no sooner received his accounts, than, carrying witnesses along with me to Aristodicus, the brother of Alexides (for he himself is dead), I asked him, whether he could tell me the expence of the galley? He shewed me the account, and the whole only amounted to forty-eight minæ. Diogeiton, therefore, having contributed no more than twenty-four minæ, must have charged his grandchildren, not with the half, but

^e This is spoken, doubtless, like an orator, without a scrupulous regard to truth.

with the whole of what he expended. How then do you imagine he would conduct himself in matters which required not the intervention of others, which he alone transacted, and where a discovery is hardly possible, when he has dared to defraud his grandchildren of twenty-four minæ in a business of the most public nature? *The witnesses.*

You have heard all these allegations now confirmed by the witnesses; and in order, O Judges! to direct you to that decision which is most favourable for the defendant, I shall only take into account the money which he confesses to have received, seven talents of silver, and forty minæ. I shall state no interest for this sum, but allow the whole expence to be deduced from the capital. I shall estimate this expence too, that is, the maintenance of two boys, a girl, a pedagogue, and maid-servant, at a rate much above what it ever cost any one of the citizens, calling it a thousand drachmas^b in the year, which is only a little less than three drachmas a-day, and the whole in eight years will amount to eight thousand drachmas. This sum, therefore, is now to be subtracted from the seven talents of silver and forty minæ. The remainder is six talents of silver, which he is obliged to make good to the children; for he cannot prove that he was deprived of it by violence, that he lost it by misfortune, or that he paid it to the creditors of his brother.

^b About twenty-five pounds.

AN
ORATION
OF
LYSIAE,
ON

An Indictment of THEOMNESTUS for Slander.

INTRODUCTION.

THE plaintiff had borne witness against Theomnestus in a prosecution, in which the latter had been indicted for leaving his shield in the day of battle; a crime deemed of so heinous a nature, that every citizen might accuse him who was suspected of it; and if the defendant was convicted, the law punished him with perpetual *infamy*, of which the effects were more severe than death itself. But, as generally happens when the severity of the punishment exceeds the demerit of the offence, this rigorous sentence was seldom inflicted. The Athenians having become more polished and equitable, eluded an institution as ancient as the time of Solon, when military virtues only were held in estimation; and Theomnestus, though it is evident from the following discourse that he was really guilty of the charge against him, yet escaped the rigour of the law, by being declared innocent of the fact.

In the course of that trial, in which he was exposed to so formidable a danger, he reproached the plaintiff with having put to death his own father. This cruel aspersions, for which, as appears from the discourse, there could be no foundation, was resented by a prosecution in the inferior court, which belonged to each particular tribe, wherein Theomnestus was condemned to pay five hundred drachmas, the pecuniary punishment of such as were convicted of slander. This sentence, however, was not carried into execution, until it had been confirmed by the ordinary judges, before whom the parties were admitted to a second hearing. The speaker shews the utmost
resentment

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resentment at the dreadful reproach that had been thrown on him: "It is a greater indignity," says he, "to be calumniated for killing a father, than for throwing away a shield; and for my part, I had much rather be insulted as a coward, than branded as a murderer." The merit of the discourse is not a little heightened by continual allusions, ingeniously introduced, and applied to the notorious cowardice of Theomnestus.

†

A N
O R A T I O N
O F
L Y S I A S
O N

An Indictment of THEOMNESTUS for Slander.

I CAN have no difficulty in finding witnesses to confirm the truth of what I shall advance in the present cause; for many of you, who are now my judges, were yourselves present at the trial of Theomnestus. You heard him accused of leaving his arms in the field of battle, and of thus forfeiting his title of ever speaking in the assembly.

While I was declaring my evidence against him, he reproached me with killing my father. Had he accused me of putting his own father to death, I should have taken no offence (for his father was a man equally worthless and contemptible); or had he traduced me by any other opprobrious aspersion which the law has judged actionable, I should have still disregarded his calumny (for processes of scandal are the proof of a litigious and illiberal mind); but he has accused me of putting to death a father who performed the most distinguished services to you and to the republic. Loaded with so cruel a
O o o reproach,

reproach, it would be unpardonable in me to keep silence; my character and sentiments prompt me to demand justice, and to discover, by the issue of this debate, whether, of all the citizens, you will allow Theomnestus alone to violate the laws with impunity, both by his words and actions.

I am at present thirty-three years of age: it is twenty years since you returned from banishment: therefore I could only be thirteen years old when the tyrants who banished you put my father to death. At this early period, I knew not under what government I lived, and was even unacquainted with the meaning of an oligarchy. Incapable as I was of rendering my father any effectual service, he yielded to his misfortunes. Had I been of an age which enabled me to defend him, I should most assuredly have endeavoured to save his life at the risk of my own; but there could be no possible motive for making me desire his death. His fortune it could not be; for I had an elder brother, who became my guardian, and who appropriated the whole inheritance to himself. It is not necessary to dwell on these circumstances; the bare mention of them is sufficient. You are already persuaded of my veracity. However, you shall hear the witnesses confirm it. *The witnesses.*

Theomnestus, though perhaps he may not be bold enough to deny what has been so clearly verified in your presence, may still alledge the same defence before you which he had the impudence to make use of before the inferior court: he will tell you, that it is not actionable at law to say, *that a man has killed his father*; that these are not the words of the statute, which only prohibits the calling him *a murderer*. But you, Athenians! will be of a different opinion, and pay less regard to words than to the things which they denote. It would

would be infinite labour indeed, to collect, in every penal statute, all the words which have the same signification. The legislator therefore abandons this fruitless task, and expresses them all by one. As to you, Theomnestus! you would summon into court him who should reproach you *with beating your father or mother*; but if he accused you of *striking the man who begot, or the woman who bore you*, in this case you would think it folly to pursue him, because he had avoided the express words of the statute! But I would gladly be informed by you (for in this matter you can both act and speak with singular propriety), whether, if it were said that you had *thrown away your shield*, while the words in the law are, *if any one is reproached with having cast away his shield*, you would imagine yourself no ways interested in the calumny thus expressed, because *throwing* and *casting* are things totally different? Nor, surely, were you one of the eleven judges in Athens, could you hesitate in dismissing a culprit brought before you, accused of *carrying off a coat*, or *stripping his neighbour of his cloke*; because in the statute against theft there is no mention of such a criminal. Nay, had he been seized in the very act of *carrying off a girl*, unless he were accused as a *robber*, you must unquestionably acquit him, if you continue thus to battle with words, without regarding their signification.

I am persuaded, Athenians! that indifference or indolence has prevented him from ever hearing a trial before the Areopagus. When a criminal cause is carried on before that respectable tribunal, the parties do not express themselves in the words of the statute, but in the very terms in which I have been reproached. The plaintiff swears that the defendant has killed such a person; the defendant, that he has not killed him: Yet the former is

not nonsuited because he has neglected to make use of the word *murder*, nor is the latter acquitted because this word has not been applied to him. But where is the difference between this case and mine? Even you, Theomnestus! pursued Dionysius for saying you had thrown away your shield, though in the law there is no mention of *throwing*. The law says, if any one reproach another with *having cast away his shield*, he shall be fined five hundred drachmas. Why will you interpret the laws as I do, when it serves your own purpose; and when it agrees not with your design, take them in a different meaning? Do you think yourself so skilful as to elude the laws, or so powerful as to overcome them? Ought you not rather to be ashamed of expecting any particular favour, not on account of the services which you pretend to have rendered the republic, but on account of the lenity which has hitherto been shewn to your crimes? You may now read the law¹. *The law.*

There can be no doubt, Athenians! that all of you are sufficiently convinced of the justness of my observations; but of so unhappy a genius is Theomnestus, that I question whether he yet understands them. I shall endeavour then to teach him by some farther examples, that he may at length leave the court so fully instructed, as never to harass you any more. Read the law of Solon. *The law is read.* It is said in this law, that if the court of Helixæa think proper, the criminal be likewise *set for five days in the stocks*. But what was then called *setting in the stocks*, we now, Theomnestus! call *confining in wood*. Now, if the criminal who had been thus punished should raise an action against the eleven judges, when, the term of their jurisdiction being expired, their conduct

¹ Said to the clerk.

came

came to be submitted to public examination; if he should allege against them, that they had ordered him to be *confined in wood*, instead of being *set in the stocks*, as the law directs, would not all the world declare him a madman^k?

And if Theomnestus has not a head of lead, he must surely now be able to conceive, that though old phrases be abolished, and new ones substituted in their place, the things denoted by them still remain as before. If he has arrived at this degree of understanding, he will discover it by his conduct; he will remain silent, and walk peaceably out of court; but if he is unwilling of his own accord to hearken to reason, I hope you will compel him to it by your decree. For it is a greater indignity, Athenians! to be reproached with killing a father, than with throwing away a shield; and, for my own part, I would rather submit to every imputation of cowardice, than be accounted accessory to the death of my father.

When Theomnestus stood trial for a matter of much less moment, he, even though guilty of the charge imputed to him, not only excited your compassion, but persuaded you to inflict disgrace on his accuser. Shall I then, who saw him act in such a manner as you all know too well for me to describe, shall I, who never threw away my own shield, who have been accused of a crime the most unnatural and enormous, and who, if he is now acquitted, must ever lie under the same cruel imputation, while he himself, though condemned in the present action, would not suffer a punishment in any degree equal to his crimes; shall I, in these circumstances, neither excite your compassion,

^k Some other examples follow of the same kind, which, as they turn entirely upon the different modes of expressing the same thing in the Greek language at different periods of time, I have thought it improper to translate.

nor obtain even justice from your decree? What is my offence? How have I incurred your displeasure? Is it that I am guilty of so black a crime? You will not venture to say so. Has Theomnestus or his ancestors more merit with the state than my ancestors and myself? He dares not pretend it. Am I a cowardly sycophant, who would take advantage of the warmth of a brave man who had reproached me with throwing away my arms? This never was my reputation among the citizens. Consider, Athenians! you have already given a singular example of your clemency towards Theomnestus, at the expence of the brave Dionysius. This man, so distinguished for his military services, said to his companions as he retired from court, "We have, indeed, been engaged in a most miserable expedition: Many of us perished in the field, and those who returned with arms in their hands, are condemned as false witnesses against the cowards who basely betrayed them." Surely it had been better for Dionysius to perish in the day of battle, fighting bravely against the enemies of his country, than to survive, and be disgraced by his countrymen.

But, having condemned him for uttering even a just reproach, you cannot acquit Theomnestus, who has calumniated me with the utmost injustice in a matter of so great consequence. For what calamity is more intolerable, than to be accused of committing the most dreadful enormity against such a father as mine? He often led you forth to war; he shared in all your hardships and dangers; he never endeavoured to usurp any superiority over his fellow-citizens, nor once yielded to your enemies; and after living sixty-seven years with honour, he suffered death from a tyrannical faction, for his unshaken attachment to the public liberty. It is his cause which I now
plead,

plead, it is my father who is injured and insulted, and who now craves your protection; and you are bound by the most sacred obligations not to reject his request. For what could excite in his mind more inexpressible anguish, than to have his death transferred from those who murdered him and persecuted you, and charged to the unnatural guilt of his own children? What could more wound the heart of a man, whose trophies of victory are still displayed in your temples, while the arms both of Theomnestus and his father adorn the temples of your enemies? So natural is cowardice to the whole race. Robust and stately in their persons, they deserve your utmost indignation; the vigour of their bodies is rendered useless by the timidity of their souls.

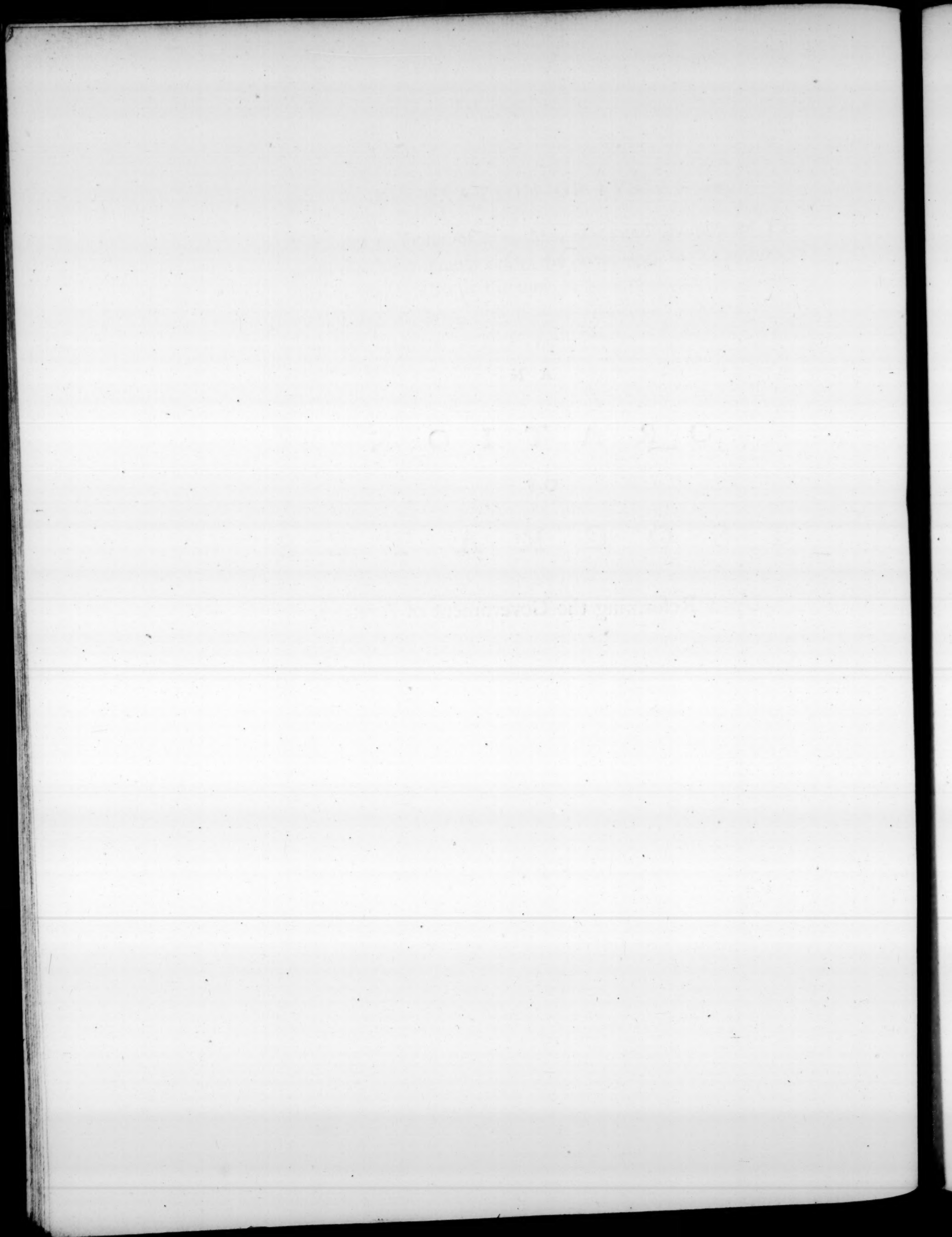
I understand that he is to urge in his defence, that he so shamefully traduced me, not through premeditated design, but in the warmth of anger and resentment; provoked, forsooth, because I concurred in giving the same evidence with Dionysius. But the law admits not anger as an excuse for calumny. Whoever is accused of this crime, has but one alternative, to prove the injustice of the charge, or submit to punishment. For my own part, I have twice borne witness to the same fact against Theomnestus; what I have seen I will ever declare; nor can I believe, that while you forgive such as commit crimes, you will punish those who detect them. I shall say no more, but only entreat justice against Theomnestus in the present action, than which none can ever be of more importance to me. It is founded, indeed, on a verbal injury; but by the decree which you pass, you will either approve my duty towards my father, or condemn me as his murderer.

Yet I was no sooner of age, than, alone and unsupported, I accused the thirty tyrants before the Areopagus, as the authors of this murder. This is the time to remember our past services, and to repay them with your protection; in doing which, you will maintain inviolate your oaths, and enforce the laws of your country.

A N
O R A T I O N
O F
I S O C R A T E S

Upon Reforming the Government of ATHENS.

P P P



INTRODUCTION.

ABOUT twenty years after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians, availing themselves of the quarrels between their neighbours, began to re-assume the lead in Greece. But the recovery of their former power could not introduce their ancient manners.—These were so fatally degenerated, that unless some measures were taken to reform them, the state could not long be preserved. It was therefore necessary to bring the government back to its first principles, and to check that fatal tendency to *extreme equality* and licentiousness, which was ready to demolish every mound that the wisdom of former ages had erected.

The wisest institution at Athens, and that which chiefly tended to restrain popular licence and disorder, was a permanent council, composed of those who had enjoyed the first offices of the republic, and acquitted themselves with honour in the discharge of them. This council was called the Areopagus, from the place where it assembled; and the members were entrusted with such great authority by Solon, that whoever considered their powers, was ready to deem Athens an aristocracy. They had a general inspection over the laws, as well as over the manners of the citizens: Religion fell under their jurisdiction^a; and no measure of any importance was under-

^a Just. Martyr.

taken without their approbation and concurrence^b. While men of age and experience, who had already run their career of ambition, and obtained the highest honours which their country could confer, were invested with such ample prerogatives, the laws (Isocrates affirms) preserved their full vigour; and no citizen having it in his power to injure another with impunity, all lived together in peace and friendship.—The rich lent their money to the poor, because they were sure it would be repaid them. The poor envied not the rich, because they had nothing to fear from their injustice. A spirit of order, frugality, and moderation, was discernible in all their measures at home, and directed their conduct with regard to foreign states.

But about an hundred years after the time of Solon, Pericles abridged the power of the Areopagus, with a view to advance his favour with the people, who had long felt themselves uneasy under the rigorous discipline maintained by that court. By the management of that statesman, the probation for becoming an *Areopagite*, was rendered less severe than before; and men were invested with that character whose lives were a disgrace to it. Vice gradually crept in, at first timid and concealed, but soon discovered itself with the utmost effrontery. The *Areopagites* became equally accessible to presents and to beauty^c; and their decisions fell into contempt. Such was the character of too many of them, when Isocrates proposed a reformation of the government.

The Athenians, delivered from the restraint imposed on them by the severe manners of the *Areopagites*, and having lately shaken off the chains with which Sparta had confined

^b Plutarch. in Solone.

^c Athen. Lib. 9.

them,

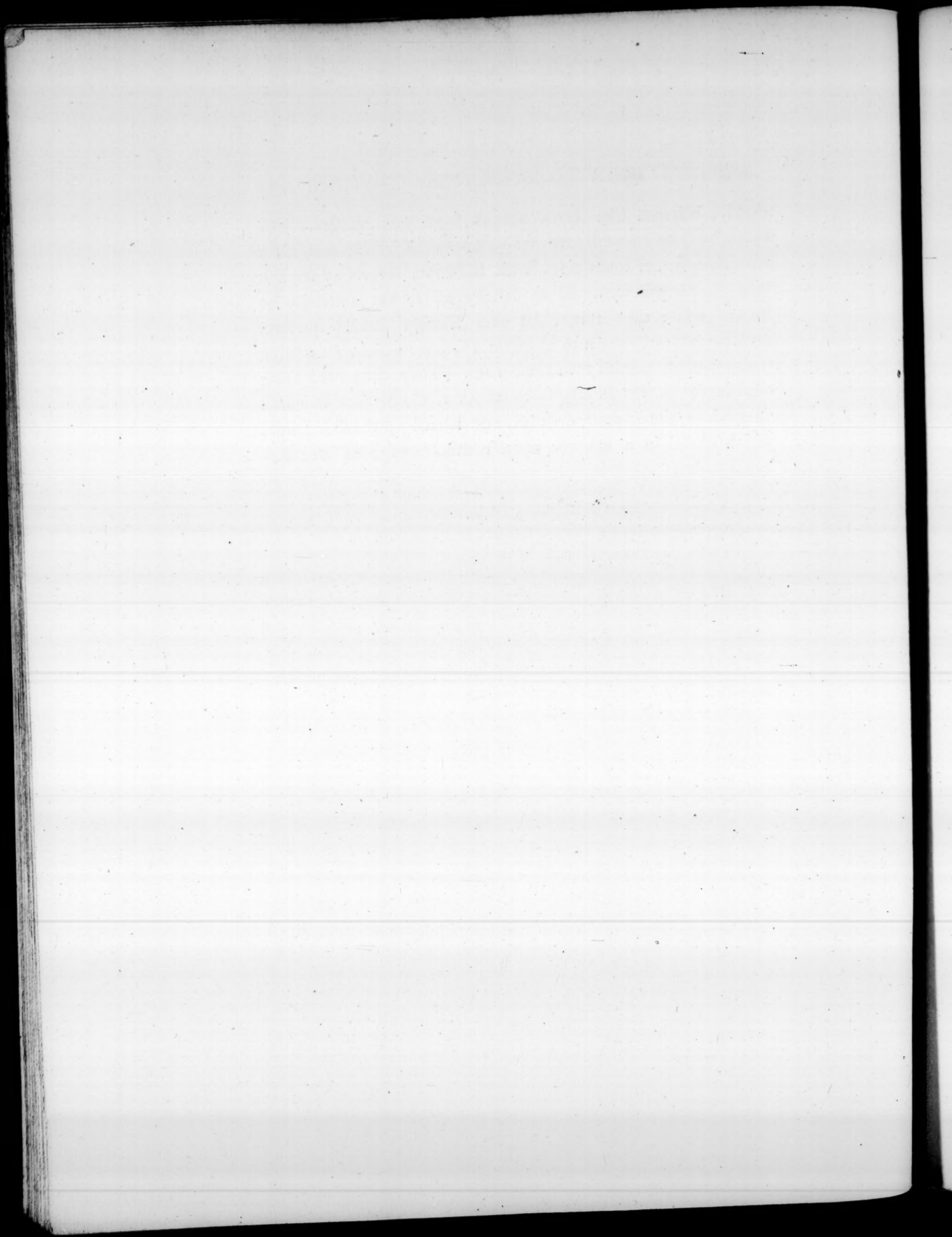
INTRODUCTION TO ISOCRATES'S ORATION. 477

them ^d, behaved like slaves escaped from their master. De-
luded by these circumstances which appeared so fortunate, they
were still farther intoxicated with their late success by sea and
land^e. They determined to destroy all lawful authority at
home, while they tyrannised over foreign states. Isocrates
in vain exhorted them to abandon a system, which, he assured
them, would terminate in their ruin. They proceeded from
one degree of licentiousness to another, threw their domestic
affairs into the utmost disorder, and stirred up the social war,
which ended in a manner equally disadvantageous and dis-
honourable^f.

^d See Introduction to the Oration against Eratosthenes.

^e See Discourse on the History of Greece.

^f See Introduction to the Oration on the Peace.



A N
O R A T I O N
O F
I S O C R A T E S,

Upon Reforming the Government of ATHENS.

MANY will think it remarkable, that, in the present posture of affairs, I should have intimated the necessity of deliberating about the safety of the public. "Where is the danger? What calamity threatens? Can our affairs be more prosperous? Have we not two hundred ships of war? Secure by land, unrivalled on the sea; are there not many allies ready to take arms in our cause, and numerous states which regularly pay us their contributions, and acknowledge their dependance? In such a favourable situation, what have we to dread? It becomes our enemies alone to deliberate about safety." While you are guided by such principles of reasoning, you must necessarily condemn as useless the task which I have undertaken, and continue to flatter yourselves, that, by means of your superior resources and present power, all Greece will speedily be subjected to your dominion. But this power and these resources, form the principal ground of my

apprehensions. For the more advantageous the circumstances of any people are, the more pernicious are the measures to which they are inclined. Their good fortune seduces and misleads them, and their confidence betrays them into a conduct which often proves fatal. Unmixed good or ill is not the lot of human nature. Wealth and power commonly bring folly in their train; and folly is attended by licentiousness; but the usual companions of poverty are wisdom and moderation; so that it is not easy to decide, whether we ought to choose that our posterity should be left in poverty or affluence; for that situation which seems the most unhappy, frequently turns out the most advantageous.

We have numerous examples of this kind in private life. But in large societies, and in nations, the reverses of fortune, though less frequent, are more striking and palpable. Those of Athens and Sparta are alone sufficient for our present purpose. When on the point of being exterminated by the Persians, and reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune, we were excited by the terror into which these circumstances threw us, to give such attention to our affairs, as not only completely re-established them, but acquired us the leading power in Greece. But from this exaltation we were speedily precipitated, and sunk into such distress, that though we had once conceived our force to be irresistible, we narrowly escaped servitude. Lacedæmon, from beginnings extremely feeble, was rendered by the force of exact discipline, and wise regulations, the mistress of all Peloponnesus. But her good fortune was not more lasting than ours; her success equally seduced her; she was exposed to the same dangers, and experienced the same distress. When we have this fatal experience before us, of the unexpected

pected revolutions of fortune in states so considerable and distinguished, is it not the greatest folly to confide in our present power, now much inferior to what it formerly was, and now that we have provoked the resentment of the same nations which even then subdued us? For my own part, I am at a loss to determine, whether you have wilfully abandoned all concern about public affairs, or unfortunately fallen into such a lethargy as renders you insensible of their disorder. For after having lost all the cities in Thrace, expended to no purpose above an hundred talents in raising mercenary soldiers, incurred the hatred of the Greeks, excited the rage of Barbarians, and being compelled to sacrifice your own allies to the safety of the Thebans, you talked in the public assembly, as if all your measures had been successful, and even twice offered thanksgivings to the Gods on account of your good fortune. Yet this conduct, extravagant as it is, ought not to occasion surprise; for it is scarcely to be expected, that those who err in their first principles should ever behave with propriety. Though fortune, or the personal abilities of one man, may procure them some temporary advantage, yet their first difficulties must always recur, and the happy effects of one successful enterprise be counteracted and unfelt, on account of the more powerful and uniform operation of those causes which conspire to destroy them.

This observation is too well illustrated by the calamities of Athens. By the bravery of Timotheus in the field, and Conon's good fortune at sea, we might have obtained an unrivalled superiority in Greece. But our success had no lasting effect; our prosperity soon began

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to decay, and afterwards entirely forsook us; for such a plan of government as might enable us to avail ourselves of good fortune, we neither possess, nor seem desirous to establish. Yet we all know, that our welfare and security depend not on being surrounded with lofty walls, or on the numbers of the inhabitants whom we collect within them, but on the manner in which our government is regulated. For the government is the very soul of the state, its functions being as important in the civil system, as those of the understanding in the natural. It is this which deliberates and decides, which points out such measures as are proper for obtaining what is good, and avoiding what is hurtful; which assimilates to its own nature, the laws, the magistrates, and the citizens; and in one word, it is on the perfection of the government that the welfare of the whole system depends. Yet our government, corrupted and depraved as it is, we have no ambition to reform. We exclaim, indeed, in our courts of justice, that never democracy was worse regulated; but this is only with a view to throw the blame on one another; for we all, both by our sentiments and conduct, prove ourselves more attached to the present plan of policy, than to that which we received from our ancestors. It is on this account I have summoned the assembly, and on this subject I purpose to address you.

There is but one remedy, then, as far as I can discover, against the evils which we now feel, and the still greater dangers which threaten us. We must restore that form of government which Solon, of all men the most popular, first devised and instituted, and which Clisthenes, who was equally the friend of the people and the scourge of tyrants, re-established and confirmed. None, surely, can be more favourable

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to

to the liberty of the citizen, or to the grandeur of the state. Our ancestors who enjoyed it, appeared so respectable, that by the free consent of the Greeks, they obtained the supremacy over them. The friends of the present system, after exciting the odium of all mankind, and being reduced to the last extremities, narrowly escaped servitude. Why then should we be attached to the cause of so many disasters? Ought we not rather to dread, that as it daily involves us in new distresses, it may at length subject us to something still worse than we have yet suffered? In order to make a proper estimate of these two systems of government, you need only attend to what I am going to observe, and I shall explain myself with all the precision in my power.

The lawgivers who instituted our ancient democracy, intended not to establish a plan of policy, which, while in appearance it seemed moderate and popular, should be actually oppressive to such as lived under it. They taught not the citizens to think that liberty consisted in the power of disobeying the laws; to deem licentiousness independence; and to give the specious name of freedom of speech to the voice of calumny and sedition. On the contrary, they detested and punished all who spoke or acted in a loose irregular manner, and thus preserved the great body of the citizens from being corrupted by their licentiousness. They distinguished between extreme and moderate equality, rejecting the former as unjust, because it allows the same advantage to those who are destitute of merit, as to the most deserving: they established that equality, which is alone properly so called, and by which each individual citizen is treated with that distinction to which his

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services

services entitle him. Upon this principle, the citizens were not promiscuously admitted to a share in the administration; such alone as had particularly distinguished themselves for their virtue and abilities, were preferred to public honours; and each was employed in that office to which his talents seemed to be best adapted. By this judicious arrangement, the characters of the men in power being exactly suited to their several departments, the rest of the citizens were induced to behave with propriety, and carefully to fulfil the duties of their different stations in life. Besides, our ancestors imagined, that such a constitution was not only more equitable but more free than if the magistrates had been appointed by lot. In this, fortune is the judge; in that, the people; and fortune, at all times short-sighted and ignorant, might bestow the first offices on such as least deserve them; while the people were capable to discern those who most respected their interest, and who were most able to promote it. The industry and frugality of our ancestors inclined them to these wise regulations; they were neither covetous nor profuse, they were not better acquainted with the amount of the public revenues than of their own estates; and, instead of being maintained from the treasury, they often relieved the necessities of the state by their private contributions. While all, with the most religious fidelity, kept their hands pure from the public money, none used improper methods to obtain the management of the exchequer. They endeavoured rather to avoid this employment, which was considered as a burden, not as an acquisition; as an office of public trust, not as an object of private plunder; and from the first moment that any one was appointed to it, he considered, not what gleanings of
profit

profit his predecessor had omitted to reap, but what objects of public utility he had neglected to procure.

It was determined, then, by our ancestors, that in electing magistrates, and examining their conduct, the power of the people should be absolute and uncontrouled; that men of property, on the other hand, who had leisure for attending to public affairs, should be entrusted with the direction of them; that while their behaviour was upright, they should meet with the esteem of their fellow-citizens, and remain satisfied with this honour; but that no respect should be shown to their errors, no pardon allowed to their crimes. Where then shall we find a democracy more equitable or more secure, than that in which the principal citizens were the ministers, and the great body of the people the supreme judges of their administration?

If the great system of their government was so well regulated, it is not to be imagined, they would be less careful in conducting the detail of it. To begin with their religion, (where it is just we should begin) neither the worship of their Gods, nor the celebration of their festivals, were performed without dignity and order. They did not capriciously sacrifice three hundred oxen at one time, and at another, as capriciously neglect the customary rites of their country. The vanity of making a magnificent parade at occasional or foreign festivals, never obliged them to celebrate with borrowed money their most awful religious solemnities. But as they scrupulously observed all the rites of their fathers, so they carefully rejected every frivolous addition to them; thinking, that piety consisted not in expensive pomp, but in rigorously adhering to what their ancestors had established. The Gods, in their turn, took care of the proper regulation of the weather and elements, so
that

that the soil was regularly cultivated, and the fruits of it were seasonably collected.

Nor were our ancestors less observant of their duties towards one another. Not only did they agree in their sentiments with regard to public affairs, but in private life they discovered that kindness and attachment to their fellow-citizens, which become men who live under the same laws, and are members of the same society. The common people, far from envying the wealthy, regarded their riches with the same pleasure, as if it had been their own. The rich, instead of despising those beneath them, considered the poverty of their fellow-citizens as their own disgrace, and used every method to relieve it. For this purpose they gave many of them lands to cultivate, at a moderate rent; some they employed in the way of commerce; and others in such arts and professions as afford a liberal subsistence. What was in this manner laid out, they had no fear of losing altogether; nor were they obliged to use disagreeable methods in order to recover any part of it. They were as sure of what they had lent, as of what remained in their coffers; for the judges, how much soever disposed to humanity, maintained the full vigour of the laws, and regarded not the contentions of the citizens as an object of private profit. They expressed even more indignation against the fraudulent debtor than those ventured to do, who were the immediate sufferers by his injustice; because it seemed evident, that the whole body of the poor were greater losers by him, than his opulent creditor. The latter could not feel very sensibly the loss of a small sum of money; but the poor must be driven to despair, if, through the want of mutual confidence among the citizens, they should be deprived of
that

that friendly aid which had hitherto sustained them. Under these circumstances, there was no one who either concealed his riches, or who was unwilling to part with them. On the contrary, he saw the borrower with more pleasure, than even such as returned to pay him. For by lending out his money, he obtained two advantages which no man of sense will despise; the benefiting of his fellow-citizens, and the employing to a profitable purpose, that part of his fortune which must have otherwise remained inactive. They arrived, therefore, at what may be called the perfection of human happiness; property was secured to its just owners, while the use of it was rendered common to all the citizens.

It may, perhaps, be objected, against the utility of this discourse, that I am at more pains to display the character of our ancestors, than to point out the causes and institutions which conspired to form it. There has already been something said upon this subject; but I shall now attempt to explain it more fully. It was a leading principle with our ancestors, not to limit the education of the citizens to any particular period of life. They were at great pains with them during youth, and in their years of maturity, took care to preserve them from licentiousness and disorder. As they advanced in life they were watched with still more attention than before; and their manners were reckoned an object of such important concern, that the Areopagus seemed instituted with no other view but to preserve them. The fair descent, the great talents, the unspotted integrity, required of such as were admitted members of this court, gave the highest authority to its decisions, and rendered it eminently conspicuous above all the Grecian tribunals. From the respect which is now paid to it, we may judge of the
reverence

reverence in which it formerly was held. Even at present the candidates for admission into the Areopagus are no sooner elected, than how profligate soever they may have before been, they set themselves to oppose both the tyranny of their habits and the vices of their nature, and to assume the appearance of that wisdom and virtue which become so illustrious a station. It was the province, we have said, of this court, to be the guardian of manners; for our ancestors thought it a mistaken notion to believe, that those states were always the best regulated where the laws were most numerous, and all their objects defined with the greatest precision. At that rate, there would be nothing to hinder all Greece from being governed in the same manner, since it is extremely easy to adopt laws from one country into another. But virtue is not to be taught by rules; it must be formed by practice and habit; these alone can produce any powerful effect, or any real harmony in the political machine; the number and accuracy of laws only denote imperfections. They are mounds to prevent the inundation of vice, but never can give birth to one virtuous action. Such as are wisely governed, therefore, have not their piazzas covered with edicts; they have the principles of justice engraven on their hearts. Without these, the best laws can be of no avail; for they only, who are well educated, are sufficiently prepared to receive them.

Upon these principles, our ancestors were not so much occupied in devising punishments, as in preventing crimes. "This, said they, is our province; we leave to our enemies the cruel art of tormenting." They were solicitous about the good behaviour of all the citizens, but especially of the young men. Sensible, that, at this period of their lives, the passions

were most tumultuous, and the mind most subject to disorders, they took care to direct them to such employments as at once occupied and pleased them. Their difference in external circumstances rendered it impossible, that all the youth should be brought up in the same manner. Their education was adapted to their fortunes: as none were allowed to be idle, laziness did not produce proverty, nor poverty injustice. Those of inferior rank were employed in agriculture or commerce; the sons of wealthy families were trained to hunting, horsemanship, wrestling, the liberal arts, and philosophy; pursuits, which inspired a certain magnanimity incompatible with every thing base, and which, while they procured glory to individuals, preserved the innocence of all uncorrupted.

That the characters of the people in general might be more carefully attended to, the city was divided into wards, and the country into districts¹. Over these, superintendents were appointed, to observe the behaviour of the citizens, and to carry such as were disorderly before the Areopagus. According to the circumstances of the case, this court either punished or rebuked them. For they were sensible, that as, through a remissness of discipline, the best men might become corrupted; so by a careful attention, and well-timed severity, even the

¹ There were ten wards or tribes at Athens, the names of which are recorded by Demosthenes. Dem. Orat. Funeb. The districts were inferior divisions, to one of which every free inhabitant of Attica belonged, and from which he had his surname, as *Demosthenes, Pæaniensis; Isocrates, Erchiensis*. What here deserves notice is, the reason assigned by Isocrates for instituting these divisions,—That the characters of the citizens might be more carefully observed; which shews their analogy to the tithings, hundreds, and other divisions, known in the modern countries of Europe, during the early ages of their government.

most vicious, when sure of being discovered and chastised, might at length be reformed. Thus the citizens were rather bridled by their foresight, than intimidated by their power; for not only the guilty were publicly exposed, but even those who meditated guilt were unable to conceal their intentions. The youth in those days ventured not to haunt gaming-houses; they loitered not in the shops of musicians; nor, with the frivolous dissipation of modern times, did they saunter away their time in insignificant places of resort. They carefully avoided appearing at the *Forum*; and when compelled by necessity to pass through that court, their demeanour marked the utmost modesty and reserve. To contradict or ridicule the aged, they considered as equally criminal with the violation of filial duty. To eat or drink in a tavern, no slave of an honest character would have been willing to submit. Pertness did not pass for vivacity, nor insolence for spirit; and to possess the talent for repartee and buffoonry, which we consider as the proof of a happy genius, they regarded as a misfortune.

Be it not imagined that I mean to satirize our youth; they deserve it not. Many of them, I well know, are dissatisfied with that constitution which permits an unbridled licentiousness. It is not to them, therefore, we must impute our disorders, but to those who, placed at the head of affairs a little before our time, abolished the authority of the Areopagus. While that court preserved the vigour of its first establishment, we were not disturbed by impeachments and prosecutions: the city was not starved by poverty, oppressed by taxes, or harassed by war. Unmolested at home, we were secure against danger from abroad. Respected by the Greeks, and dreaded
by

by the Barbarians, we saved the former from destruction, and chastised the insolence of the latter with a just severity. There was no probability these Barbarians would again provoke our resentment. The security of our situation enabled us to render it delightful. The houses in the country, with all their appendages, exceeded in elegance and splendour even those within the walls of the city; their happy owners enjoyed contentment in their rural retirements, and flocked not to the capital to dissipate, in feasts and gluttony, the treasures of the public. It was not as yet the mode to celebrate festivals or exhibit entertainments with that expensive magnificence which is the bane of hospitality. Strangers were received with a simple cordiality, not with a majestic reserve: happiness, in the opinion of our ancestors, consisted not in the splendour of processions, or in the ostentatious luxury of shows and entertainments, but in living with moderation and simplicity, and enjoying, in company with their fellow-citizens, all the necessities of life.

These are the surest tests of all political establishments, and by them only we ought to determine whether a state be well or ill regulated; for who, possessed of humanity, can reflect on our present circumstances without pity, when many citizens cast lots^m before the courts of justice, to decide whether they shall enjoy the common necessities of life; others, capable of sea-service, solicit maintenance from the treasury; a third class dance in embroidered robes, but pass the winter in places too shameful to be named; and a thousand other inconsistencies take place, by which many are oppressed, and all disgraced?

^m They were appointed to be judges by lot, and were paid for judging.

But, under the Areopagus, our affairs were on a different footing: the humanity of the rich relieved the indigence of the poor; the young were preserved from licentiousness by exact superintendence and constant employment; the old were prevented from sloth by a continued respect, and a regular gradation of honours; and the magistrates, whose province it was to regulate the conduct of others, were convinced that every deviation from their own duty would be remarked with singular attention, and punished with uncommon severity. What system of policy could be more beautiful or perfect?

There are many of my hearers, who, though well satisfied with what has been said, and disposed to admire our ancestors for the wisdom of their institutions, may still be of opinion that these you will never be persuaded to revive, but adhere, from the force of custom, to the regulations now established. They may go farther, and pretend, that by offering advice on this subject, I run the risk of incurring the public hatred, and of being regarded as the tool of a cabal, who aspire at arbitrary power. I answer, that if, after obscurely proposing some unknown system of government, I had advised you to appoint commissioners in order to examine its propriety, my design might be justly suspected; because, under such a pretence, our democracy was formerly dissolved^a. But I am no political projector, I advise nothing new or untried, and only propose the re-establishing of that plan of policy with which you are all acquainted, which is hereditary to this state, and which, while it remained in force, produced the greatest benefits to Athens, and to all Greece.

^a See Lyfias against Agoratus and Eratosthenes.

Besides, all my discourses, as well as my whole life, prove me to be an enemy to oligarchy, and to every species of tyrannical power. I have celebrated the love of equality, and of every other virtue which tends to preserve the true republican spirit, and have exposed those vices which tend to destroy it. I am still ready to maintain the same principles, for they are founded on experience and reason. Our ancestors, living under a republic, were distinguished above all mankind. Even the Lacedæmonians owe their prosperity to the same system of government; for not only in the election of their magistrates, but in their daily manner of living, and in all their institutions, we find them peculiarly attached to the love of equality and justice; virtues which are the very soul of a republic, and which all other governments continually oppose and combat. If we consider the matter more generally, we shall be convinced, that democracy must always be preferable to the government of the few. Our present system itself, faulty as it is when put in competition with that of our ancestors, yet if compared to the oligarchy of the thirty, will appear to be the work of a God. I shall point out the difference between them, that there may be no pretence for accusing me of throwing a veil over the merits of the people, while I expose their errors and their folly. My observations shall be short, and, I hope, not unprofitable.

After the loss of our fleet in the Hellespont, the state was involved in those calamities which the more aged in this assembly have too good reason to remember. In this situation the republican party were prepared to encounter every danger, rather than betray their liberties; thinking it an infamy never to be endured, that Athens, formerly the mistress of Greece, should submit to any power, especially to that of her enemies.

But

But the partizans of oligarchy, governed by different principles, beheld, without emotion, our walls levelled to the ground, and our citizens driven into banishment. While the popular party prevailed, we kept guards in the citadels of our neighbours; during the oligarchy, our own citadel was in the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who now assumed the lead in Greece. But no sooner were the exiles returned, and our liberties happily restored, than Conon having obtained a naval victory, the Lacedæmonians acknowledged our superiority at sea.

These facts are well known, and are such as might naturally have been expected. Under the democracy, the city was so well provided in every thing, both for sacred and civil purposes, that strangers acknowledged her worthy, not only of being mistress of Greece, but of the whole world. The thirty tyrants, on the other hand, solely attached to the interest of their faction, neglected every object of public utility. The customary sacrifices were omitted; the temples were pillaged; and the arsenals, which had cost the city a thousand talents, were put to auction, and their broken fragments retailed at three.

Nor can we deem the administration of *the Thirty* more gentle than that of the people. Though advanced to sovereign power by the votes of the citizens, they put fifteen hundred of them to death untried, and compelled upwards of five thousand to fly for refuge to the Pireum. But these, though obliged to fight their way into the city, and though rendered superior only by force of arms, confined their resentment to the first authors of our misfortunes, and behaved with such moderation towards the rest of the citizens, that no distinction was admitted between such as returned from banishment, and those

those who had thrown them into it. The latter had borrowed an hundred talents to enable them to carry on their military operations against the exiles. An assembly was called to deliberate concerning the payment of this sum; and many said it would be unjust to desire any contribution from those against whom the money had been employed. But the friends of liberty gave a noble proof of their disinterestedness, ordering the payment to be charged equally on them all. From moderation arose unanimity, and from unanimity strength. The Lacedæmonians, who, during the oligarchy, had been continually insulting us by fresh exertions of arbitrary power, now appeared as suppliants before our assembly, entreating that we would not allow the Thebans to destroy them.

These revolutions were not accidental, but the natural consequences of the principles of those in power. The one party, while they tyrannized over their fellow-citizens, were willing to become slaves to the public enemy; the other, desirous to live on an equality with their countrymen, were ambitious to humble every rival of their country.

I have made this digression, to testify my detestation against every kind of arbitrary power; to prove the advantages of a free government, even when ill administered, above the *sovereignty of a few*; and to point out the justice, equality, and happiness resulting from a well-constituted democracy.

But if I give a preference to your present government, why should I propose an alteration of it? why should I capriciously find fault with a system under which you have performed such exploits as cannot be sufficiently extolled?—I blame that man in private life, whose folly exceeds his wisdom; I reproach

him for being unworthy of an high descent, whose conduct is not more noble and generous than that of the vulgar, and with regard to public affairs, I think there is no reason for being satisfied with you, while you only have the advantage over men, possessed, as it were, with dæmons, or inspired with madness. Nor ought you to be satisfied with yourselves till you become more worthy of your ancestors; for it is *their* virtue, and not the worthlessness of tyrants, that you ought to place before your eyes, and make the object of your emulation; especially as it becomes Athenians to distinguish themselves above all the rest of mankind. This is not the first time, nor is this the only assembly, in which I have maintained such an opinion; I have on many occasions insisted on it; for I am persuaded, that as there are particular countries famed for the production of certain plants and animals, so Attica has reared men superior to all others, not only in the arts of civil life, but in martial bravery and conduct, and in all the virtues of the mind. We have no slight proof of it in their ancient victories over the Amazons, and the inhabitants of Thrace and Peloponnesus. The late wars against the Persians bear an evidence still more convincing. In these, both when alone and when attended with allies, both by land and sea, they overcame the Barbarians, and carried off the first prizes of valour. But this panegyric does not belong to you; for the praise of great men is a satire on the descendants who disgrace them. To say the truth, we have acted in a manner most unworthy our noble origin; we have abandoned the peculiar dignity of the Athenian character; and have fallen victims to licentiousness, ignorance, sloth, and every disorder of the mind. This is a digression from my present subject, but it is a topic on
which

which I have often insisted, and on which I will still continue to insist, while you compel me to so disagreeable a task.

I shall presently give place to the other speakers, after I have added a few words on the subject of my first proposal. If you retain your present system of government, it is not to be doubted that you will continue to deliberate as foolishly, and to act as inconsistently, as you have hitherto done, and to feel the same miserable effects of your bad counsels and conduct. But by adopting the institutions of your ancestors, you will enjoy as prosperous a fortune as they did, and our affairs will take the same happy turn as before; for it is unquestionable that all depends on the government. By this the manners are formed, and hence consequences the most happy or the most fatal result. Compare these consequences; compare what you anciently were with what you are now. How were the Greeks and Barbarians disposed towards our ancestors, and how are they disposed towards us? While the Athenians maintained that system which I recommend, the Greeks reposed in them the most unlimited confidence, and voluntarily submitted to their authority. As to the Barbarians, they avoided interfering in the affairs of Greece; they durst not pass the river Halys with their armies, nor approach Phaselis with their fleet. But matters are now so much altered, that of these two powers, the one detests, and the other despises us. The hatred of the Greeks is evident from what the generals have declared in your presence; the contempt of the Barbarians is expressed in the strongest terms in the letters immediately received from them.

While the Athenians enjoyed their ancient government, they lived peaceably at home, and opposed with vigour all attacks from abroad. But at present there is no end to our civil broils,

S f f

and

and we are so ill prepared for foreign war, that, in order to raise troops, it is necessary to bribe us.

What is most important of all,—at that time no citizen wanted the necessities of life, nor disgraced his country by begging subsistence from strangers; but the poor are now become the most numerous body in the state; and it surely is not surprising, that such as want bread should give themselves little trouble about public affairs. Yet I am still of opinion, that if we re-establish the form of government enjoyed by our ancestors, we may not only remove our present distress, but secure the safety of this state, and of all Greece. It is with this view I have called the assembly, and pronounced the present discourse. Reflect on the measures there proposed, and pass that decree which may appear most expedient and useful.



T H E E N D.

ERRATA.

In the DISCOURSE.

corrected
 Page iv line 13 from the top, ~~del~~ to after may ✓
 xlii 13 from the top, for Charonæ read Charonea ✓
 lxxi 16 from the bottom, for station read stations ✓
 lxxviii last of note ^m for admiration read approbation. ✓

In the ORATIONS.

corrected
 Page 5 line 3 from the bottom, for began read began ✓
 22 from the top, insert that ✓
 50 16 from the bottom, insert and after inhabitants; insert by custom after should ✓
 56 from the bottom, insert to before these ✓
 57 12 from the bottom, insert such an immense before number ✓
 74 from the bottom, for which it they succeed in will read by which they may ✓
 96 from the bottom, read to enable instead of in order that ✓
 100 from the bottom, read to instead of might. ✓
 159 towards the middle, for commanded read command ✓
 185 from the top, for those read these ✓
 219 for Olympus read Olympia ✓
 225 towards the middle for wide read broad ✓
 252 from the top, dele then ✓
 262 from the bottom, for by read through ✓
 274 18 from the top, for his read this ✓
 288 5 from the top, for indignations read indignation ✓
 356 1 dele abandoned ✓
 369 1 insert be accused by before enemies ✓



